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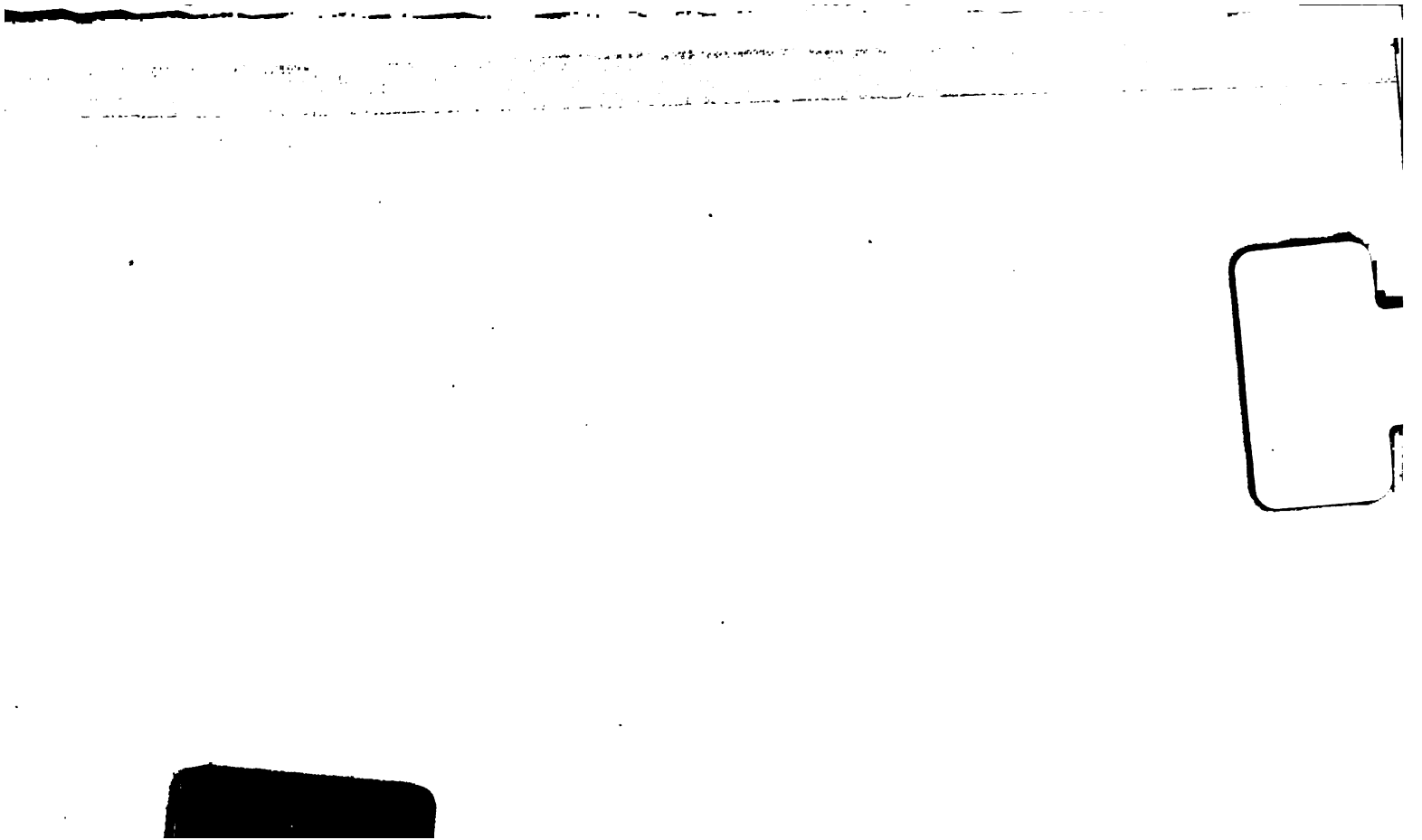

Abyssinia-Description 1765
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TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE,

IN THE YEARS

1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, & 1773.

BY

JAMES BRUCE OF KINNAIRD, ESQ.
F. R. S.

THE SECOND EDITION,
CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

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TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE,

IN THE YEARS

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PREFACE.

THE second edition of the "Travels in Abyssinia and Nubia" is now presented to the public, considerably enlarged, and in a more convenient form. No preliminary observations are necessary on the merits of the work; these are already known and established. It received, on its first appearance, the approbation of the first literary characters in the island, and was read with the interest excited by the novelty of the subject, and the acknowledged abilities of the author.

A few apparent exaggerations in description, and some casual mistakes in matters of inferior conse-

quence, gave occasion to the envious to depreciate Mr Bruce's character among such as had not the means of better information, and to excite suspicions unfavourable to the general credit of his narrative. These suspicions he never condescended to remove, but left his vindication to the natural strength of truth, which has gradually prevailed *, in a manner highly honourable to his memory, but injurious and discouraging to the hopes of living merit.

As this edition is printed from a copy which the author had prepared for the press, it possesses whatever emendations and corrections he intended to make for the use of the public. Of the part performed by himself, the editor ventures to speak with the greatest diffidence and hesitation. The kingdom of Abyssinia has no intercourse with Europe; and its government, manners, arts, and learning, make not the smallest part of that system of

* Vide Conversation between Abram, an Abyssinian, and the late Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Researches; and Dr Clarke's testimonies respecting the tomb of Alexander, p. 24.

erudition which is commonly acquired, and encouraged in Britain. The ancient language of the country, in which all its books are written, is known only to a very few; and, excepting some illiterate Greeks, who had wandered into that part of Africa, Mr Bruce was probably the only European, who could speak the modern dialect of Habbesh. Before he could examine Mr Bruce's MSS. or revise his work, the editor found it necessary to understand Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic, the last of which, to his regret, is not fully attainable in the present state of oriental literature.

In the Appendixes and Notes to the different books, he has attempted to confirm the author's theory, to enlarge the number of his facts, and to illustrate his observations.

The account of the Egyptian theology, in Vol. II., is selected from Jablonski, not in the manner of Savary, but after a careful examination of his authorities, and an attentive survey of the Coptic language. The additional proofs that Egypt was peopled not from Arabia, but, according to Mr Bruce's opinion, from the South, rest on a comparison of the oldest notices and most authentic facts

on record concerning these nations; but the limits prescribed to the dissertations have prevented the writer from exhausting the subject, and often obliged him to aim at conciseness, rather than at elegance or variety of expression.

The Introduction to Vol. III. is collected from Ethiopic MSS. of which a particular account is given in several places of the work. Though not so extensive as it could have been made, the writer hopes that it will considerably illustrate the history of Abyssinia, and exhibit a view of the government and constitution of that remote kingdom. That it abounds in barbarous names is a circumstance which he could not remedy; because titles of honour and of particular offices cannot be intelligibly translated. In some other places he has been obliged to make use of the Abyssinian æra of the world, and names of the months, as these could not with certainty be reduced to our computation.

In the Appendixes to Books IV. V. and VI. he has given the history of Ras Michael, a leading character in the Travels, from Ethiopic MSS.; and likewise an extract from Mr Bruce's journal written

at Gondar in March, 1770, containing an account of his own reception, and occupation at court. This is followed by the most important parts of the journals in Italian and English, of his journey to the sources of the Abay, or Nile, in Agow-midré. The narratives of Paez and Lobo are for the sake of illustration, subjoined to this account.

In the Appendixes to Books VII. and VIII. he has arranged all the miscellaneous information concerning Abyssinia, Atbara, and Sennaar, found in the several journals. He trusts that it will, in a great measure, supply any want of minute explanatory notices, in the author's narrative; that it will, in many instances, confirm the reports of other travellers, and shew that Mr Bruce's enquiries respecting the interior of Africa were extensive and indefatigable. It will at least vindicate his character from the aspersion of having asserted, in spite of conviction to the contrary, that the Bahar-el-asrek was the direct source of the river of Egypt.

The editor hopes that no apology to the public is necessary for the particular attention which he has bestowed on the different languages spoken in Abyssinia, particularly on that of the Galla.

Perhaps, these specimens may be useful in a more advanced stage of discovery; at least, it is pleasing to indulge the idea, that, by the exertions of our countrymen, all the African nations will, at length, be surveyed, and the different tribes classed according to the similarity of their manners and languages.

In the additions made to the Appendix of Natural History, he has been directed partly by Mr Bruce's own choice, and partly by the state in which he found the descriptions of some particular articles. Even if he possessed more knowledge of the science than he pretends to have, it will not be expected, that he should have attempted to describe any rare plants, or animals, from drawings alone, however accurately these may have been made.

The materials for Mr Bruce's life have been collected from his papers and literary correspondence. Part of these authorities are subjoined to the narrative. Though the letters are not all equally valuable, each of them seems to illustrate some relative point, and many of them, particularly those which were written in Barbary, Arabia, and Abyssinia, confirm the traveller's statements in the most

ample and satisfactory manner. A few of the facts in the Life are taken from a MS. Memoir, written by Mr Bruce, about the year 1788, a large extract from which was printed in the Introduction to the Travels.

On concluding this laborious undertaking, he begs leave to return his thanks to the curators of the library of the Faculty of Advocates, and to the librarian of the University of Edinburgh, for the obliging facility with which they permitted him to consult a number of works relating to oriental languages, travels, and literature.

A. MURRAY.

EDINBURGH, *July* 1. 1805.

CORRIGENDA.

Page lvix. line 22. Ult. for Note D. *read* Note F.
lxxxiii. — *For* measures *read* measurements.
clii. — 11. *For* done *read* expended.
clxii. — 21. *For* confirmed *read* ascertained to be false.
clxiii. — 24. Dele whatsoever.
clxix. — 13. *For* exhibits *read* presents.
cccxxi. — 4. *For* Bernier *read* Bernis.
cccxx. — 12. *For* it in *read* in it.
cccxliii. — In the Note *read* Professor of Rhetoric.
cccxlix. — In the Note for 1778, *read* 1788.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JAMES BRUCE, Esq.

SECT. I.

THE benefits arising to society from a knowledge of the various nations which inhabit the globe, are so numerous and important, that they who have explored remote and interesting countries, have always been entitled to the thanks of mankind. Navigation and travelling, the principal methods by which that knowledge is obtained, are different in their nature, and their progress has not hitherto been equal. The modern improvements in navigation have rendered the

one easy and expeditious, while the other continues to be attended with many of its original difficulties.

By the advancement of maritime discovery, information has been accumulated concerning most of the different tribes which people the shores of the earth. But the difficulty of completing a survey of the globe is found to be much increased, when the element is changed on which that survey is performed. The discoverer of inland countries must encounter perils greater than those of the sea; in addition to the calamities of accident and climate, he must be prepared to struggle with the ignorance and ferocity of barbarians. All the passions, which are restrained with difficulty by regular government from violating the rights of the helpless and unprotected, may be indulged at pleasure on the friendless stranger, in countries where laws are disregarded or unknown. Difference in religion or manners, in the colour of his skin, or in the features of his face, may excite the prejudices of the vulgar, and the contempt of the great. Exposed by wealth to rapine; by poverty, to famine; often cut off from all intercourse with those who take an interest in his welfare, the traveller is frequently reduced to the hardships and necessities of savage life.

These, along with other important causes, have long retarded the progress of geographical discovery. Many of the finest countries in the world, formerly renown-

ed for wisdom and power, are still but imperfectly known, on account of the barbarous character of their present inhabitants; and several extensive regions, whence hordes of savages have issued to change the aspect of a considerable portion of the earth, have never been viewed by an intelligent observer. The interior parts of all large continents, excepting Europe, have as yet been explored in a very defective and unsatisfactory manner.

Amongst those which are least accessible to discovery, the continent of Africa deserves to be particularly mentioned. Whether we regard the variety which nature displays in its soil and inhabitants, the number of its commercial productions, or the many inducements of a different description, by which it claims the attention of benevolent and inquisitive minds; in all these respects it is curious and interesting. Most of the polished nations of ancient and modern Europe have therefore attempted the discovery of its central regions. We need scarcely remark, that their endeavours have, for the most part, been unsuccessful. They have only ascertained the resistance which remained to be conquered by future exertion; and the progress made by each adventurer in accomplishing the design with which he travelled, has been nearly forgotten in the pathetic narrative of his personal dangers.

Such being the difficulties which obstruct the progress of our knowledge of foreign countries, the value of that information which we possess is enhanced in our esteem. The perils through which it was collected, lead our attention to the character and accomplishments of him who procured it. While we peruse the affecting, but instructive narrative, of the man who wandered in foreign countries, at the hazard of his life, to observe their ways and manners, he naturally comes to occupy a conspicuous place in the groupe which is presented to the imagination. In proportion as his dangers have been great and numerous, his activity and courage remarkable, his routes novel and enterprising, we feel a correspondent interest in his fate. Books of travels are therefore read with a pleasure, which history, for the most part, is seldom able to excite. While they enrich the mind with new and interesting truths, they amuse it with all the graces of novelty, and all the attractions of personal adventure. Those which relate to Africa exemplify this character in its fullest extent. In a country, long acknowledged to be an unfailing source of novelty *, that traveller must be deficient in feeling and observation, who finds

* Ἀεὶ φέρει Λιβύη τι καινον.

not enough to interest the curiosity of his readers, and to transmit his name to future ages.

Among those who have hitherto laboured in exploring Africa, the author of Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, will probably be admitted to hold a distinguished place. Few have undertaken the difficult task of discovery with endowments of body and mind superior to his; and none have excelled him in the courage and perseverance with which he performed it. The principal country which he visited is interesting on account of its geography, of the rank which it has long held amongst the African states, and of the singular manners of the tribes which possess its different provinces. His exertions were also extended to Barbary, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and part of his route lay through the desert between Nubia and Egypt, which no other European has traversed or described. The remainder of his days, excepting the time which was necessarily spent in discharging the duties of society, was devoted to literature, and to the arrangement of those valuable observations which his travels had enabled him to present to the public. These, along with other inducements, to be mentioned in their proper places, will perhaps apologize for this attempt to illustrate the principal actions of his life; an attempt which, however defective in other respects, is free from the influence of detraction and

flattery, and supported by documents of unquestionable authority.

JAMES BRUCE of Kinnaird was born at the family residence of that name, in the county of Stirling in Scotland, on the fourteenth day of December 1730. His father, David Bruce *, was the eldest son of David Hay of Woodcockdale, in the shire of Linlithgow, by Helen, daughter of Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird; who, dying without male issue, left to her, and her lineal descendants (by a settlement), his name and estate. The family of Woodcockdale was sprung from the Hays of Park, in the province of Moray; an old and respectable branch of the Hays of Errol, whose bravery distinguished them at a remote period in our national history, and afterwards procured to them, from Robert I., the hereditary office of Constable of Scotland †.

The immediate founder of the Kinnaird family was Robert, the second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, by Lady Janet, daughter of Charles, the fifth Lord Livingston. Contrary to the will of his parents, Mr Bruce quitted the profession of the law, for which

---

* Appendix, Note A.

† Papers belonging to the Kinnaird family. Marriage contract between D. Hay and H. Bruce, February 5. 1687. Crawford, Nisbet, &c. (names Bruce and Hay); and the histories of the province of Moray.

he had been educated, and became a minister of the reformed church of Scotland, in the year 1585. He lived in a turbulent age, in which he was qualified by nature to make a conspicuous figure; and his birth, abilities, and moral character, raised him to an eminent place in the government of the church. He had the honour to enjoy the confidence of James VI. during his expedition to Denmark, and to place the crown on the head of his queen on her arrival in Scotland. The conclusive act, by which presbytery was established as the national religion, was obtained chiefly by the address and policy of Mr Bruce. When the king afterwards proceeded to limit the power, and to change the form of the church, he was the only minister who could neither be persuaded nor forced to comply with these innovations. The king, disappointed at his firmness, first imprisoned him, and then banished him from the kingdom. Though he was permitted by the court to return to Scotland, a short time after his banishment, he was obliged by the Privy Council to spend the rest of his days at a distance from the capital. His death happened in August 1631 *.

The severity with which the crown had persecuted

* Papers at Kinnaird. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, *passim*. Life of Robert Bruce, compiled from these and other sources, Scots Mag. for 1802.

this firm and able opponent of its prerogative, did not diminish the loyalty of his descendants. When the nation, after the death of Charles I., recalled his son to the throne, Robert and Alexander Bruce, grandchildren of the clergyman, voluntarily entered into the service of the king, and, along with the rest of the royal party, were involved in his defeat and misfortunes. Robert, the eldest of the two brothers, was promoted to the rank of colonel in the guards; in which he continued till the battle of Worcester. He distinguished himself in that memorable engagement, from which he escaped with difficulty, and died soon after of the wounds which he had received in the action. The younger brother exerted himself with equal bravery in the royal cause; in consequence of his attachment to which, his estate was sequestrated by order of Cromwell, his personal safety endangered, and the remainder of his life subjected to embarassments from debts contracted during the usurpation. After the king was restored, he shared the general neglect of the crown in rewarding its defenders. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1711, leaving two daughters, the eldest of whom had been married to David Hay of Woodcockdale. She succeeded to her father in the family estate; which she left, along with her name, to her eldest son David, in the year 1728 *.

* Appendix, Note B.

In February 1729, Mr Bruce married Marion Graham, daughter of James Graham, Esq. of Airth, dean of the faculty of advocates, and judge of the high court of admiralty in Scotland †. This connection was honourable in every respect. Her father was distinguished for his abilities and professional knowledge, universally esteemed for his public and private virtues, and allied by marriage to some of the first families in the kingdom. After this lady had born Mr Bruce two children, of whom the youngest is the subject of this memoir, she was seized with a lingering disease, which slowly undermined a constitution naturally delicate, and laid her prematurely in the grave. Her death happened on the 23d of November 1733, when her son was an infant. It never was his fortune to know the tenderness of a mother.

Mr Bruce married a few years after (February 1735) Miss Glen, daughter of James Glen of Longcroft, in the shire of Linlithgow, and sister of James Glen, Esq. who resided long in America as governor of South Carolina. Six sons and two daughters by this marriage survived their father, all of whom supported the character of the family from which they

† Papers relating to the Kinnaird family from 1728 to 1733. Marriage-contract between D. Bruce and M. Graham, Feb. 1729.

were sprung *. The eldest brother was bred to the profession of an advocate at the Scottish bar. The second, an officer in the Duke of Richmond's regiment, was mortally wounded in the breach of the fortress called the Moro, at the Havannah, while fighting out of his order, in the forlorn hope †. The third, Captain William Bruce, in the service of the East India Company, proposed the attack, and led on the party, which, on the 3d of August 1780, took by escalade from the Mahrattas, the fortress of Gualior, till then reckoned impregnable ‡. These gallant actions, so worthy of the name of Bruce, were frequently mentioned with pride and approbation by that brother, whose fortune conducted him to honour by a different path of adventure.

Of the first years of Mr Bruce's life, no particular incident is remembered which affected either his future health or character. Though strongly formed, he did not promise, while a child, that athletic constitution and stature which he attained in manhood. He was subject to complaints in the breast, resembling the

* Papers at Kinnaird, from 1735 to 1760.

† Letter to Mr Bruce from Mr Wood, under-secretary of state, dated February 8. 1763.

‡ Account of taking of Gualior in the publications on the history of India for 1780.

disease which occasioned the death of his mother and sister. His temper, contrary to the character which it afterwards assumed, was gentle and quiet: as he advanced in life, it became bold, hasty, and impetuous, accompanied however with a manly openness, that shewed the usual concomitant, a warm and generous heart.

When James had arrived at the eighth year of his age, his father resolved to bestow on the son, who was apparent heir to his estate, all the advantages of a liberal and judicious education. As Mr Bruce's family was already numerous, he did not consider his fortune, in the unpromising state of the kingdom which succeeded the union, as adequate to support the respectability of his eldest son, without the assistance of some professional pursuit. To enable himself therefore to form a plan of education for the boy, which should prepare him for settling in the world, he consulted his brother-in-law, William Hamilton, a younger son of the family of Wishaw, in Lanarkshire, a Counsellor at the English bar, who resided in London †. The

† Baronage of Scotland, p. 479. Mr Hamilton had married Helen Hay, Mr Bruce's sister. Mr Alexander Hamilton, his brother, a Solicitor at law, took great interest in Mr Bruce's education, and often corresponded with his father on that subject. The facts respecting Mr Bruce, during the period of his education, are derived from an extensive correspondence carried on

result of their opinion was in favour of a classical education in England. This they considered as more generally useful, and better calculated than that which in those days could be obtained at home, to facilitate the exercise of any liberal profession abroad, particularly in that country which was now become the permanent seat of British legislation and government. Considerations of a political nature added their weight to the influence of these reasons in the mind of Mr Bruce. Though he and his friends were attached to the union of the kingdoms, and the house of Hanover, many of the principal families in his neighbourhood had suffered extremely from holding principles entirely opposite. Twenty three years had scarcely elapsed, since the first attempt to restore the house of Stuart had miscarried. From an unfortunate attachment to that exiled family, many of the Scottish nobles had forfeited the honours and rewards which their ancestors had gained by their patriotism and loyalty. The effects of these misfortunes were deeply felt in the country at this particular period, and nourished a general spirit of disaffection to government, contagious to a youthful and aspiring

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by his father with Counsellor Hamilton, Governor Glen, and several others, which is still preserved at Kinnaird. It extends from the year 1738, to the year 1754.

temper, and to be avoided only by living at a distance*.

Towards the end of the year 1738, Mr Bruce sent his son to London, entrusting him to the care of his brother-in-law, Counsellor Hamilton, to whose friendly charge he committed the superintendance of his conduct and education. The boy resided, during the first year, in his uncle's house, and was afterwards placed at the school of a Mr Graham, where he acquired the arts of reading and writing, and was initiated in the elements of the latin language. His progress was however without method, and conducted with less regularity than is consistent with the nature of a good education. His friends perceiving this defect, removed him, in 1742, to the school of Harrow on the Hill, in the vicinity of London †.

This seminary, which still vies in reputation with any establishment of the kind, was then conducted by the abilities of Dr Cox, under whom Mr Bruce appears to have made a rapid proficiency. He advanced through the Latin and Greek classics, taught in the school with great approbation; and the care and accuracy with which he is said to have performed the exercises occasionally prescribed, were no less remarka-

* Appendix. Note C.

† Mr Bruce was entered at Harrow, January 21. 1742, and left it May 8. 1746.

ble. Unfortunately none of these are preserved to shew the progress which he had then made; but several of his school-fellows, long after they were settled in the world, used frequently to relate the facility with which he assisted his friends in the accomplishment of their tasks. A copy of Latin verses, written for a near relation, then at the same school, whose presence was deemed necessary at a party of amusement, but which could not be otherwise obtained, is reported to have drawn from Dr Cox a high encomium on the unknown author.

Mr Bruce remained at Harrow till the 8th of May 1746. In the four years which he spent there, he acquired a knowledge of the ancient languages, and the acquaintance of several persons of abilities and distinction, whose friendship he retained through life. Among these may be mentioned the late Honourable Daines Barrington, well known for his many virtues and ingenious writings. Two sons of Solicitor Hamilton, the Counsellor's brother, and William Graham of Airth, Esq. Mr Bruce's maternal uncle, were also his school-fellows. With the latter of these gentlemen, his intercourse, while in Scotland, may be said to have been perpetual. They were constant companions in early life, and their friendship was dissolved only by the hand of death.

He was now fifteen years of age, but his health, which had always been precarious, was by no means established or robust. He had become tall beyond the measure of his years: His breast was weak, and affected with violent coughs on catching the slightest degree of cold: his joints were infirm; and his general appearance indicated an overgrowth, which his relations were apprehensive would terminate in a consumption. But as these complaints were attended with no alarming illness, his return to Scotland was delayed until the rebellion, which distinguished that unfortunate year, should be ended, and tranquillity restored to his native country. He lived in the academy of a Mr Gordon till April, 1747, where he prosecuted his classical education, and studied French, arithmetic, and geometry. Other accomplishments, the use or elegance of which are generally known in fashionable life, he acquired at the same period—which were designed to recommend their possessor in the brilliant circles of civilized society, not to procure him, as they afterwards did, the admiration of barbarians, in countries where refinements in taste and pleasure are unknown.

During the time of Mr Bruce's residence at Harrow, many conversations had been held with him respecting the profession which he was to exercise in future

life *. At first he fixed on the study of theology, and chose to become a clergyman of the English Church; but he afterwards changed his mind, or rather submitted his choice to the will of his father. At last he declared himself inclined to the profession of an advocate at the Scottish bar, which decided the bent of his studies, and hastened his departure from town.

Mr Bruce arrived in Scotland in May 1747, in better health than his father had been led to expect. He spent the autumn among his relations in relaxation from study, much employed in sports of the field, for which he acquired a predilection, retained by him to the latest period of his life. In these amusements he attained uncommon dexterity; and the practice of them rendered him the excellent marksman which he afterwards became. Fowling and the chace were diversions which he seldom omitted any opportunity of pursuing. He had hounds sent him from England while Consul at Algiers, some of which he carried along with him into Asia. In these countries the game changed indeed from the hare and stag, to the elephant, rhinoceros, and lion. But the sport was equal-

* Letters. Counsellor Hamilton to Mr David Bruce, November 15th 1746; February 26th 1747, and April 28th. same year.

ly alluring on the mountains of Scotland, and in the woods of his Abyssinian province Ras el Feel *.

In the month of November, the same year, Mr Bruce entered his son at the university of Edinburgh. The gentlemen whose lectures he attended during the winter, were Mr Mackenzie, Professor of Civil or Roman law, Mr Erskine of Cardross, Professor of Scotch law, and Mr Macky, Professor of Universal History †.

What proficiency Mr Bruce made in the different branches of legal knowledge, it is now impossible to know. There existed no treatise at that time, which could rouse a spirit of reflection and philosophy in a youthful bosom, condemned to linger over the dry principles of the Roman and Scotish codes. It is believed, that he felt the task which he had undertaken neither agreeable nor instructive. The delicate state of his health was unfavourable to the prosecution of a laborious study, which required a matu-

* Dr Pitcairn of Warwick court, London, Mr Bruce's relation, writes to him at Algiers; "I have sent off two fox hounds, the flower of a pack lately dissolved, and Procopius de Bello Gothico." One celebrated hound called *Juba*, an excellent hunter of the boar, was left at Latakia, on the coast of Syria, with consul Vernon. The reader will find an account of the difficulty with which he preserved at Gondar the means of an innocent amusement, in vol. vi. p. 26. of the Travels.

† Letter. Mr D. Bruce to Gov. Glen, November 14, 1747.

rity of mind and habits of a different nature from those that prevail at the age of nineteen. But, however unprofitably he spent the time as a student of law, he was not forgetful of other more attractive branches of education. From sentences of the Italian poets, written on the blank leaves of Heineccius's Elements *, the book used in the law class, it appears that he was more intent on acquiring a knowledge of the language of modern Rome, than of the works of her imperial legislators. The fact, besides its value in a different point of view, deserves to be mentioned as creditable to his taste and industry. At that time, the Italian was very little read in Scotland: Few persons there had formed any acquaintance with the writings of Petrarch and Ariosto, or the other productions of Tuscan genius which served as models to the earlier British poets.

In spring 1748, his former complaints returned with such violence, as to excite the most serious apprehensions of their tendency to a consumption, and to render necessary every precaution for avoiding that fatal disease. He removed into the country for the benefit

* This book, "Elementa Juris Civilis, Heineccii," has the name "James Bruce, 1749," along with several Italian words and verses evidently written at that time. Two of the verses are "Bella ingrata io moriró", and "Non vi lasciate uccidere, Dal dolo melanchonico."

of exercise and air. Attention to regimen, along with the amusements of the country, contributed to restore his health; but his return to college in the following winter was not judged expedient. His own expectations of success in the profession of the law, were much abated, and various other circumstances determined him to relinquish it for ever.

In this uncertainty of mind, India offered to his ardent imagination a prospect of a more flattering nature. It is not necessary to describe the motives which have long induced so many Europeans to prefer that distant country to the one in which they have been born. The splendid fortunes with which several adventurers had returned to Britain about that time, appeared to such as did not estimate other circumstances, more than sufficient to balance the dangers, the hazard, and the toils with which they had been procured.

As Mr Bruce was considerably above the age at which persons are enrolled as writers in the service of the East India Company, his friends advised him to petition the Court of Directors, for the liberty of settling as a free trader under its patronage *. But even that preliminary step was taken more slowly than might have been expected from his temper and activity.

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* Counsellor Hamilton, letter to Mr James Bruce, June 1st 1753.

He left Scotland in July 1753, the 22d year of his age, with a view to prosecute this design. On arriving in London, his former acquaintance received him with joy, and during the time spent in soliciting permission from the Directors, he lived among his friends in the gay manner of a stranger who was soon to leave them, and probably to be long absent. For that reason they strove to enlarge the circle of his amusement, by introducing him to their private acquaintance. They impeded his solicitation, and endeavoured to delay, if not to prevent, the departure of a young man whose character they admired, and from whom they were unwilling to separate.

Among those friends which their kindness procured to him, was the family of Mrs Allan, the widow of an eminent wine-merchant, residing in London. Mr Allan was of Scotch extraction, had been bred to business in France, and by attention and perseverance, had raised himself in London to respectability and opulence. After his death, his widow continued in trade with her family, consisting of a son and a daughter; the former of whom pursued his father's business. Mr Bruce saw the young lady on a visit to one of her friends, and was so struck with her appearance and manners, that he resolved, for her sake, to abandon his prospects of Asiatic wealth. The character of Adriana Allan was suitable to the

beauty of her person. She was as elegant in her manners as in her appearance, and remarkable for a soft unassuming temper, united with a kind and warm heart. Few are able to resist the influence of these powerful attractions; and it must be observed in the case of Mr Bruce, that he never honoured, with his love or esteem, any female character in which they were wanting.

Mrs Allan listened with approbation to the proposal of marriage, which he made to her daughter. Amongst other arrangements, it was agreed that Mr Bruce should receive a share of the business of the family into which he was now admitted. The marriage took place on the 3d of February, 1754; an event productive to him of consequences sufficiently important, but of very short and transient happiness. Though the year did not end with the prosperity with which it began, the incident, here mentioned, changed his destination in life. It retained him in Europe till his mind was formed, his knowledge matured, and an opportunity presented itself of visiting the east with honour and advantage. In his own opinion, it prevented him from suffering the cruel imprisonment at Calcutta in 1756, which proved fatal to many of the Company's servants *.

* The account of this period of Mr Bruce's life (from 1753 to 1757) is derived from a correspondence carried on with his father

In a short time after this connection with the family of Allan, Mr Bruce took an active part in the management of the business. The dealings of the company were extensive, and many persons of distinction honoured him with their friendship, from a regard for his personal character. By their attention he secured the public favour, and would have soon acquired a fortune suitable to his wishes and merit. His father, on receiving an account of his marriage and settlement in London, approved of his conduct, with the greater pleasure, that the hopes of his success in India were by no means certain.

But this flattering establishment in the world suddenly changed its appearance. Mrs Bruce inherited from her family a delicate constitution, predisposed to a mortal disease, which deprives society of many of its brightest ornaments. In a few months after her marriage, evident symptoms of a consumption made it necessary for her to leave the clouded unhealthy air of London. She resided at Bristol during part of the summer for the benefit of the waters, with little advantage, as her complaints were alleviated, but

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from the time of his marriage till his voyage to the continent, and from the numerous letters of his friends. Some of the facts also are taken from the MS. Memoir of his own life already mentioned.

not removed *. The last resource was a trial of the mild climate of the south of France, her native country; on her way to which, accompanied by her mother, she sailed in the beginning of September †. Mr Bruce joined them at Boulogne, and they proceeded on their way towards the county of Provence, in which they intended to pass the winter. They reached Paris on the 2d of October, where their journey was destined to terminate. Mrs Bruce, exhausted with travelling, and by the secret force of a disease, which indulges hopes of life at the moment when it destroys it, expired in a week after their arrival.

The bigotry of the Popish religion contributed to embitter the close of this affecting and melancholy scene. From an excess of intolerant zeal, the clergy in the enlightened metropolis of France delighted, as lately as 1754, to persecute the last moments of a dying heretic. With the same illiberality they were accustomed to forbid the remains of the deceased to be interred in consecrated ground. Mr Bruce would have suffered from the violence of both these prejudices, if the English ambassador had not extended his protection to the family, and claimed for it the privi-

* Letter from Mr Bruce to his father, August 27, 1754.

† Letter to his father, dated Mark-Lane, September 3. 1754.

leges due to himself and his retinue. Under this protection, Mrs Bruce died undisturbed by the clamours of fanatics; but the funeral could not be conducted in a public manner. At mid-night, between the 11th and 12th of October, Mr Bruce stole a grave for his wife in the burying-ground assigned to the English embassy, and there saw all his happiness laid in the earth*.

He left Paris immediately after the ceremony, frantic with grief, and rode, during the remainder of that night, one of the most tempestuous that had ever been known, towards Boulogne, which he reached on the following day. Fatigue, abstinence, and sorrow, threw him into a fever, which detained him at that place nearly a week. As soon as he was able to go on board a ship, he embarked for England; to which he returned solitary, in ill-health, and great dejection of mind, from the most unhappy journey which it was ever his lot to perform.

After this melancholy event, Mr Bruce lost that eager attachment to business, which had been encouraged by causes that now existed no longer, and could not be cheered with any prospect of domestic happiness. Though he did not consider it prudent to drop his connection with a flourishing trade without some preferable pursuit, he gave up a considerable

* Appendix, Note D.

share of the management to his partner, and applied himself to studies little related to his business, but calculated to withdraw the mind from painful recollections. He had resolved to embrace the first opportunity which should occur, to resign his share in the wine trade; and he therefore commenced his preparations for a kind of life exceedingly different from that which he had hitherto led.

He was already a considerable proficient in the ancient languages. To his knowledge of them, he successively added an acquaintance with the Spanish and Portuguese. He applied to these studies with such assiduity, as gave him a habit of acquiring the most difficult idioms and dialects, of which he afterwards availed himself in studying the languages of the East. A good ear, a tenacious memory, and an excellent judgment, laid the foundation of these attainments, so necessary to the traveller and the scholar. He improved his skill in drawing under a master of the name of Bonneau, recommended to him by Mr, afterwards Sir Robert Strange, then rising into eminence in London *. Before this time he had chiefly cultivated that part of drawing which relates to the science of fortification, in hopes that he might, on some emergency,

* MS. Memoir.

find it of use in military service. But views of a more extensive kind now induced him to study drawing in general, and to obtain a correct taste in paintings, so as to be able to visit with advantage those countries which possess the finest specimens of skill and genius in that department of the arts.

They, who are conversant with the business in which Mr Bruce was engaged, know, that it requires a regular and frequent intercourse with the continent. The vintages of France, Portugal, and Spain, supply the stores of the wine merchant, which cannot be formed without attention to many circumstances of annual occurrence. The plan which he had secretly concerted, of visiting the continent with other intentions, happily coincided with the purposes of trade; and he looked forward, therefore, to the time when he could travel over the south of Europe in the character of a merchant, with the taste and science of a scholar. As this opportunity was delayed by various accidents, he continued two years longer in business; during which his health was confirmed very slowly, on account of the application which he was obliged to give to a multiplicity of affairs *. A severe cough and spitting of blood, with which he was at times affected till the age of thirty, yielded at length to pro-

* Letters to his father, *passim*.

per treatment, exercise, and the vigour of that period of life to which he was now approaching.

In summer 1755, the prospect of a war with France obliged him to undertake a voyage to the islands of Guernsey and Alderney, in order to provide a plan for securing the stock of wines which the company had purchased abroad. Immense preparations were then making in the French ports for the rupture with Britain. The vessel, in which he embarked, sailed along the coast of France. The principal buildings in Cherburg, Harfleur, and St Maloes, were seen from on board, along with appearances of war in every harbour. He returned to London by Southampton, after having viewed at Spithead the British navy, waiting for the commencement of hostilities *.

In the month of July, 1757, he sailed from Falmouth, on a voyage to the continent, and spent the remainder of that year in Portugal and Spain. His professed object was to be present at the vintage of that season; but his real intention was to view the state of society, art, and science, in those kingdoms. He landed at La Corunna, in Galicia, on the 5th of July; whence he proceeded to Ferrol, where he remained a few days. From Ferrol he

* Letter to his father, August 23. 1755.

travelled to Oporto, and thence to Lisbon *. The metropolis of Portugal was then lying in ruins, its trade languished, and the nation was utterly dejected. The court was held at Belem, in a kind of temporary residence, to which it had fled from the dangers of the earthquake. In this distressed situation, Portugal could not appear to much advantage to a traveller; but the manners of the principal people and the national character in general, Mr Bruce was inclined to consider as very unfavourable to public happiness and prosperity. His journals are filled with satirical remarks on the stiffness and pride of the nobility, the gross ignorance of the clergy, and the unrelenting spirit of revenge which pervaded all ranks of people †. The Portuguese manners and customs, some

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* These particulars of the journey through Portugal and Spain are selected from his journal, a small quarto MS., and from the pocket-books in which he entered the different stages, rates of travelling, &c. A general account of it is given by himself in the MS. memoir.

† The following passage may furnish a specimen of these remarks:

"There are many particular customs in Portugal, all of which may be known by this rule, that whatever is done in the rest of the world in one way, is in Portugal done by the contrary, even to the rocking of the cradle, which I believe in all the rest of the world is from side to side, but in Portugal is from head to foot. I fancy it is owing to this early contrariety that their brains work in so different a manner all their lives after. A Portuguese boat-

of which are singular, and known only in that and the neighbouring country, suffer by a comparison with those of England. After every deduction is made for the prejudice of foreigners, it is impossible not to acquiesce in the opinion of those who affirm, that the nation has degenerated from the spirit of its ancestors. Few of those generous qualities of mind can be recognised in the modern Portuguese, which inspired the naval discoveries of Vasco de Gama, which relieved Abyssinia from the yoke of the Mahometans, and which extended the influence of their small, but enterprising country, over part of the four conti-

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man always rows standing, not with his face, but his back to the stern of the boat, and pushes his oar from him. When he lands you, he turns the stern of the boat to the shore, and not the head. If a man and woman ride on the same mule, the woman sits before the man, with her face the contrary way to what they do in England. When you take leave of any person to whom you have been paying a visit, the master of the house always goes out of the room, down stairs, and out of the house, before you, to leave you, as he says, in possession of his house, and to shew you how much he, and all that are in it, are devoted to you. They are, indeed, very attentive to the smallest punctilio, knowing well one another's temper. The smallest affront is never forgiven. This is the occasion of the many murders which are continually committed here. It is, indeed, the only country where it can be said that murder is tolerated. Every family has a son, a brother, or a nephew, who is a priest, or friar. These are the instruments. As soon as the friar has committed the crime, he flies to his convent; and in six months the thing is no more talked off."

nents. Pride, indolence, and superstition, have debased the south of Europe. The extensive operation of these ruinous vices Mr Bruce had occasion to remark in a variety of cases respecting the military service, trade, and internal government of Portugal, and particularly in the character and power of the ecclesiastics. As his business connected him with the English merchants at Oporto and Lisbon, he was received into their society with great kindness and attention. In their families he found a relaxation from care, which, for a long time, he had not known. The civility, friendship, and elegant manners of his countrymen, heightened the pleasure communicated by a constant succession of new objects, and compensated for the cold reserve and indifference peculiar to the natives. To the happiness arising from English society, he had the good fortune to add the company of an accomplished fellow traveller, Matthew Stephenson, esq. of Walworth, in the county of Westmoreland, with whom he visited the greatest part of the kingdom, and enjoyed his favourite diversion on the banks of the Douro *.

* On the 12th of August, 1757, Mr Bruce and his friend visited Braga, the metropolitan church of Portugal. At Braga they went to see a noted chapel, called Nuestra Senhora da Monte, situated on a hill not far distant. Having ascended, with some difficulty, they learned, to their great disappointment, that they could not see the chapel, as the image of our Saviour had been

After having seen every thing remarkable in Portugal, Mr Bruce left Lisbon on the 15th of November, and proceeded on his way towards Spain. He crossed the Tajo at Almaraz, on the road to the capital; but instead of entering Madrid, he turned to the right hand, passed through Toledo, and thence made an excursion over the Sierra del Toledo into the province of New Castile. Having advanced beyond the Sierra Morena, he traversed the districts of Cordova and Seville on the river Guadalquivir; whence he regained the road from Lisbon, and about the middle of November arrived at Madrid *.

In this rapid, but attentive journey, he seems to have

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taken down from the cross, and placed in a neighbouring church, for the purpose of procuring rain, which the country then needed. The monks told them, "El Senhor huì fora," The Lord is not at home to day. From Braga they proceeded to the falls of the Douro, and thence to Cantinheda. They enjoyed some excellent sport, in a residence of a few days, at the seat of the Marquis of Marialvas. The son of the French consul furnished them with dogs, the game was plentiful, and their fare was improved by the hospitality of the good monks of the convent of Saint Mark. On arriving at Coimbra, a Portuguese university, they visited the principal library, but none of the friars could tell where the Greek books were kept. Mr Bruce's friend having been there on a former occasion, accidentally found one; and on asking the friars in what language it was written; they answered "È alguna das lenguas muertas," some of the *dead* languages.

* MS. Memoir.

gained considerable knowledge of the southern provinces of Spain. In particular, he remarked the languor of commerce, the thinness of population, and the religious slavery, to which later travellers have ascribed the decline of the Spanish monarchy. From viewing these effects of injudicious policy and government, it occurred to him that an enquiry into the history of Spain, during the eight centuries in which it was possessed by the Arabs, would elucidate many of the obscure causes, from which that country has gradually sunk in prosperity, as the sources of its wealth have increased. The traces of oriental manners visible in the south of Spain, the ruinous palaces of the caliphs, and the tales of chivalry ascribed to the Moorish wars, suggested extensive matter for philosophical reflection. A desire of examining the treasures of Arabic literature buried in the Escurial library followed the survey of these oriental remains. A large and unexplored collection of Arabic manuscripts belonging to the Spanish crown, then kept in the monastery of St Laurence, had long excited the curiosity of foreigners, partly on account of the information which they were supposed to contain, and partly from a fear that they might perish by some accident, as many of them had already done. Though yet little acquainted with the Arabic language, Mr Bruce hoped to accelerate an examination of these writings, which attested the ge-

nius, and recorded the literature, of the conquerors of Spain. From materials unknown to former enquirers, he hoped to investigate the means by which the Mahometan states in that country had acquired power, wealth, and science, while its Christian government in happier ages, with the vast accession of a new continent, and a perpetual influx of treasure, had been productive only of ignorance and poverty. To accomplish this design, it seemed necessary to enter into a minute detail of the various parts of the Saracen policy, and to contrast it with those memorable effects of the Catholic government, the expulsion of the Moors, the establishment of the Inquisition, and several other institutions, which have hastened the decay of industry, improvement, and public spirit *.

On arriving at Madrid he procured an introduction to Don Ricardo Wall, then minister to his Catholic Majesty, a gentleman of British extraction, and superior abilities, sincerely inclined to promote the interests of Spain, if the nation had been ready to second his endeavours. The Spanish statesman, who well knew the value of so accomplished an adventurer, used every art to persuade him to enter into his master's service; but, besides his engagements at home, Mr Bruce

* MS. Memoir, and Introduction to the Travels.

had contracted an aversion to the military system of Spain in his southern journey. He therefore declined the offers of Mr Wall, though exceedingly flattering, and only requested his assistance in the researches which he intended to make in Arabic literature. He soon understood from him, that difficulties, which even his influence could not remove, obstructed all access to the library of the Escurial. The Spaniards, with a jealousy peculiar to themselves, conceal their records and history from every intelligent foreigner.

The British nation had at that time no ambassador at the Spanish court. Mr Bruce having received letters of protection from Mr Wall, left Madrid in the end of December. Though the observations which he had made in the course of his journey through that kingdom were new and considerably numerous, he never intended to lay them before the world. In consequence of an early resolution, which he never violated, he had determined to publish nothing on any subject which others had exhausted, or might easily illustrate. Being disappointed in his views of elucidating the Moorish history, an undertaking to which his learning at that time was perhaps inadequate, he considered his journies through Spain, France, and the Netherlands, merely as the rudiments of travelling, conducive to his own improvement and information,

but entirely unworthy of the attention of others. In a similar point of view he regarded the catalogue which he afterwards made of the paintings and antiquities preserved in Rome, and the other cities of Italy. He relinquished Egypt to the care of those who should make it the principal field for their enquiries; and, from principles of honour and gratitude, he abstained from describing Palmyra and Balbec, of the ruins of which he took magnificent drawings, sufficient to have established the reputation of any traveller.

On Christmas day 1757, he arrived, on his way to France, at Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. The season of the year was very unfavourable for crossing the Pyrennean mountains, and exposed him to considerable danger from the excessive cold of those elevated regions. On reaching Bayonne he learned that his French passport had not been forwarded to that place, which obliged him to turn aside to St Sebastian, and wait for its arrival. Notwithstanding the letters of Mr Wall, suspicions were entertained that he was travelling on the frontiers from improper motives, and on that account he was treated with severity and reserve, until, in consequence of letters from France, he was permitted to enter Bayonne, where he was kindly entertained by the Mareschal le Duc d'Aumont. On the 14th of January, 1758, he came to Bourdeaux,

where he spent several months in a very agreeable manner, as he had many acquaintance, and some relations, in that city. His friends introduced him to the principal merchants in the place, whose affable and obliging manners, contrasted with the cold and reserved dignity of the Spaniards, gave him through life a decided attachment to French society.

From Bourdeaux he continued his journey towards the north of France. Having passed through Perigord, the Limosin, and part of Alsace, he quitted the French territory at Strasburg; then following the course of the Rhine till he reached its confluence with the Maine, he visited Frankfort. From that city he pursued the wild and romantic progress of the united rivers to Bonne and Cologne; at the last of which places finding a French garrison, and judging it imprudent to appear among the enemy's posts, he turned to the left hand, crossed the Maese, and arrived at Brussels, the capital of the Netherlands. This country, the scene of many remarkable wars, and the grave of many armies, he was desirous to examine, on account of the fortified places, and great variety of military architecture, which it presents to the eye of the traveller. It was now summer, but while he was preparing to gratify his taste and curiosity at Brussels, an accident took place which had nearly been attended with disagreeable consequences.

On the second day after his arrival, he was involved in a quarrel with a person who had behaved rudely in his presence to a young gentleman, a stranger to Mr Bruce, but whose appearance had inclined him to interfere in his defence. The aggressor sent him a challenge, which he accepted. They met, and Mr Bruce wounded his antagonist twice, and, as he at first apprehended, mortally. As the event was doubtful, and could not be ascertained on the spot, he found it necessary to leave Brussels as soon as possible. He set out with the utmost diligence for Rotterdam, whence he intended to embark for England; but his friends having communicated intelligence from Brabant that his alarm had been ill-founded; that the person was recovering; and that no disagreeable consequences would ensue, he discontinued his flight, and returned to the Netherlands.

Having met in Holland with several English gentlemen, officers in the Dutch service, he obtained through their friendship letters of recommendation to Ruremonde, a Dutch frontier town on the eastern bank of the Maese. He proceeded thence, along with several of his friends, to view the theatre of the war, which was then carried on in the north of Germany between the British and the French, the former led by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the latter under

the command of the Duc de Clermont. A few years before, Hanover had been overrun by the armies of France, to the ravages of which it has been long exposed. Attachment to their lawful sovereign, and impatience under the excesses of the French, had roused the Hanoverians to expel their invaders. Their attempts were eagerly supported by the partiality which George II. entertained for his German dominions. Assisted by a detachment of British forces, the abilities of Prince Ferdinand, and the alliance of Frederick II. king of Prussia, they met their enemies in the field, and, on the 23d of June 1758, obtained a considerable victory at Crevelt. The party, in which Mr Bruce was, arrived at the scene of action in sufficient time to see the battle *. It was the first opportunity which he had enjoyed of seeing any military operation, and the impression which it made on his mind prompted him to return immediately to Britain, to forsake the peaceful life which he had hitherto led, and to rush into adventures more congenial to the spirit of his ancestors.

On arriving at Rotterdam, he received from Colonel Dundas, one of the gentlemen already mentioned, a letter, which informed him of the death

* Letters to Mr Bruce; and MS. Memoirs.

of his father *. David Bruce died at Edinburgh, in May 1758. He was a gentleman of superior abilities, of an excellent character, and well skilled in country affairs; in the management of which he was very often consulted and employed. In his person he was large, of a fair complexion, of that temperament commonly known by the name of sanguine: in his youth he had been reckoned extremely handsome. His son inherited from him the love of magnificence, the dignity, and stately deportment, which might have been expected in the heir of an ancient family. It may be remarked, as an instance of the transmission of bodily as well as mental qualities through a long line of ancestors, that the features and character of Robert Bruce, the firm and haughty leader of the Scottish church in the reign of James VI., were retained by his descendants at the distance of two centuries.

This intelligence obliged Mr Bruce to sail for England, which he reached in the end of July. By his father's death he succeeded to the family estate, a respectable inheritance, but inadequate to the wants

* Letter from Mr A. Bruce to his brother, Edinburgh, May 8. 1758.

of his growing ambition. He did not immediately visit Scotland. His share in the wine business occupied his attention for some time after his arrival. Various circumstances, relating to his affairs in both kingdoms, retarded his former designs; nor was the partnership dissolved till the month of August 1761, three years after. But this delay produced no suspension of his studies. With an intention of acquiring the eastern languages, he had collected in Holland most of the books published by the Dutch and Italians on Oriental literature. The labours of Erpenius, Golius, Schultens, and Maracci *, opened his way to a knowledge of the Arabic, now the learned language of great part of Asia and Africa. The same curiosity, which had led him to study a branch of learning little connected with European knowledge, induced him to examine, in the works of Ludolf, the Ethiopic, or Geez; a circumstance which perhaps determined him to explore the sources of the Nile.

While these unusual studies occupied his intervals of business or amusement, a particular event in his

* The bills of these books, and also of Ludolf's Ethiopic and Amharic dictionaries, which he purchased in the Netherlands, serve to confirm his own account in the MS. Memoir, and in the printed Introduction to his Travels.

native country proved beneficial to his fortune, and to the interests of the whole nation. This was the establishment of a manufacturing company at Carron, in the neighbourhood of Mr Bruce's estate *. The person to whom the country is chiefly indebted for that establishment was Dr Roebuck, a very ingenious but unfortunate physician and chemist, who having discovered a particular method of smelting iron with pit-coal, prevailed on his friends to assist him in erecting a manufactory of that metal. The success of his undertaking is generally known. It deserves to be mentioned in this place, as the cause of a considerable addition to Mr Bruce's fortune; as a circumstance which had nearly induced him to relinquish his design of travelling in Africa; and which, in the latter part of his life, occasioned the great expense of labour and time that he bestowed on the management of his coaleries.

In August 1761, he withdrew from the wine business, which he had carried on for seven years, in company with Mr Allan. An object of a different nature now occupied his mind. Mr Pitt had already shaken the principal throne of the Bourbon

* The Carron Company was established in 1760: the first partners were Messrs Roebuck, Garbett, and Caddel. Their connection with Mr Bruce began in the same year.

family, by a vigorous and successful war, but Spain had maintained an appearance of neutrality, which was not expected to be lasting. Anticipating therefore a rupture with that kingdom, and apprised of the adventurous spirit of the minister, Mr Bruce, though unknown in the world, ventured, through the interposition of his friend, Mr Wood, the under secretary of state, to lay before him a plan which he had concerted in his travels on the continent *.

In his journey through Portugal and Spain, he had spent a few days at Ferrol, in Galicia, where the Spaniards have a considerable harbour, and generally station a part of their navy. Accidental circumstances brought him into the company of several persons in the Spanish service, from whom he received much information concerning the town and the dock-yards, to which he was surprised to find that models of the latest and most approved British ships of war had been secretly conveyed from England. From some of these persons he procured a plan of the harbour and works at Ferrol, not with an immediate view of using it in an enterprise against the place, but from general curiosity, in the disinge-

* The following account of the expedition intended against Ferrol is derived almost entirely from the MS. Memoir; with the addition of a few hints from Mr Bruce's letters to Lord Halifax.

nuous part of which he reckoned himself justified by the conduct of the Spaniards with regard to the British shipping. A report was then circulated that the court of Spain was about to engage in war with Britain, to which some credit had been attached, by the jealousy with which the Spaniards had received Lord Howe, who, a short time before, had been driven into Ferrol by stress of weather. On considering the means of defence which this place possessed, it appeared to Mr Bruce that an attack upon it by a British squadron would be completely successful; and that, in case of a war with Spain, it would be a point at which that country might be easily invaded.

An opportunity now seemed to occur when this knowledge, and the observations which he had made, might be turned to account. In the end of the year 1760, he communicated his scheme to Mr Wood, and entered into a full detail of the reasons which had induced him to form it. He added, that in case a war with Spain should be resolved upon by the ministry, if the king would entrust him with the command of the forlorn hope, and a pair of colours, he would not desire the assistance of another boat except that in which he landed, till he had planted them with his own hand on the beach at Ferrol.

As a Spanish war was not yet begun, and Mr Pitt had not digested his plan of operations, he received Mr

indifferent success of his military projects. In the same evening, however, in which he received an account of the reasons of the ministry for abandoning the Ferrol expedition, Lord Halifax sent a message by Mr Hamilton, his Lordship's secretary while in Ireland, and Mr Bruce's cousin, requesting to see him before he left London. On meeting with him, his Lordship laughed at Mr Bruce's design of retiring to the country at his time of life; suggested to him, that the way to rise in the present reign, was by enterprize and discovery; and that his Majesty's love of the arts was a sure and effectual introduction to patronage. He observed, that Africa, though almost at our very door, was yet unexplored; that Dr Shaw, a writer of undoubted credit, had spoken of magnificent remains of architecture existing in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers; and that something should now be done to preserve them, by drawing, and add them to the king's collection. As a further inducement, he informed him, that Mr Aspenwall, his Majesty's agent and consul-general at Algiers, had been recalled; that a merchant, of the name of Ford, who had been appointed to succeed him, was since dead; in consequence of which the place was vacant. He warmly advised Mr Bruce to accept this opportunity of visiting Africa, under the protection of a public character; promised that he should

have leave to appoint a vice-consul for the dispatch of business in his absence; and that, if he made wide excursions into the country, and large additions to the king's collection, he should be recompensed with the rewards stipulated in the affair of Ferrol, or advanced to a higher situation in the diplomatic department. To these proposals Mr Bruce acceded. He afterwards had several conversations with Lord Halifax and Mr Wood on the subject of Africa. In the course of these, mention was frequently made of the sources of the Nile, and of the obscurity in which they had ever been concealed. The fountains of the river of Egypt were spoken of as likely to remain wholly unknown to the moderns, until some undaunted adventurer should trace it to its origin. Hints were obliquely thrown out, that the discovery of these "coy sources" could not be expected from an ordinary traveller, much less from one who had no experience in those difficulties which must accompany an enterprize of such magnitude and glory; and it was insinuated, that if any Briton should fulfil the wishes of every age, in this particular, he ought not, under such a monarch, and in a period so auspicious to discovery and learning, to despair of a high reward *.

* MS. Memoir, and Introduction to the printed Travels.

As the affair of the consulship, owing to temporary circumstances, could not be settled immediately, Mr Bruce returned to Scotland in the winter of the year 1761, leaving the care of his interests to his relation Dr William Pitcairn, and to Mr Wood. The latter of these urged the ministry so closely, that notwithstanding some obstructions from the influence of others, and a desire which his majesty had been pleased to express of nominating a person acquainted with the Barbary states, Mr Bruce was appointed agent and consul-general at Algiers, in February following *. He left Scotland in March 1762, from which he was to be long absent. When he arrived in London, his friends, amongst whom Mr Wood held a distinguished place, congratulated him on his preferment, from which they expected important consequences. He was introduced to his majesty, at whose gracious request, it is believed, he promised to make, for his princely collection, accurate and complete delineations of all the ruins of ancient ar-

* Letter of Mr Wood to Dr Pitcairn, Feb. 4. 1762, requesting him to let Mr Bruce know that the consulship was obtained. Id. from Dr Pitcairn to Mr Bruce in Scotland, dated Feb. 18. 1762, informing him that Mr Wood had concerted the means of his visiting Italy, &c.

architecture which he should discover in the course of his travels.

The appointment to the consulship being obtained, the next object was to combine with the discharge of its duties, opportunities of travelling and of literary enquiry. It was concerted, that he should pass through France into Italy, and there await orders from government to sail for Algiers. As a pretext for staying in Italy, it was alleged, that a messenger would soon be dispatched to Malta, the grand master of which had incurred his Majesty's displeasure, by partial and unfriendly behaviour during the war; and that Mr Bruce was a proper person to communicate the intelligence of hostilities which were to be commenced against that island by the British fleet, under the command of admiral Saunders. Mr Wood, intent on advancing the study of ancient art and science, had employed all his influence with the ministry, to procure for his friend a residence of a few months in Italy, for the purpose of improving his taste, and of qualifying him to collect, with greater ability, the remains of antiquity in the southern parts of the Roman empire. By his own exertions, the public had already received an account and delineation of two very ancient cities in Asia, remarkable for the magnificence of their desolated structures, and the obscuri-

ty in which their history is involved *. He was anxious to contribute further to its instruction and amusement, by procuring a similar description of the African provinces.

Another scientific project engaged, at this time, the attention of the literary world. In the month of June 1761, a transit of Venus, over the disk of the sun, had induced philosophers to hope, from accurate observation, a solution of several difficulties respecting these celestial bodies. In particular, it was expected that the sun's parallax might be determined with greater accuracy; that the satellite of Venus, discovered by Cassini in 1686, might again be perceived, and the atmosphere of that planet more fully ascertained. It was known that another transit of Venus over the sun would happen in the year 1769, and be visible in the northern parts of Europe and Asia. Mr Bruce purposed to travel into Armenia with a view to observe this phenomenon, if that excursion could be rendered compatible with his other arrangements.

With these designs, he left Britain about the end of June 1762, on board a ship carrying dispatches to

* Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec by Wood and Dawkins, published 1753 and 1757.

Sardinia, which landed him on the coast of France *. His passport through that kingdom, furnished by M. de Choiseul, was reckoned extremely liberal; and the kindness shewn him by the Count de Estaing, and other French noblemen, flattered him the more, that another traveller, related to some of the first families in Britain, had been refused the like civility. Having set out from Lyons on the 11th of July, he arrived on the 15th at Turin. In a few days after, he reached the banks of the Po, and successively Parma and Bologna.

It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of the antiquities, paintings, and other curiosities, which he observed in the course of his journey †, as they are described by almost every traveller who has visited Italy before or after him. It must not, however, be omitted, that he

* Passport, dated Versailles, April 12. 1762. It granted leave to take only two attendants; but was accompanied by a private letter from M. de Choiseul, which is alluded to by Mr Bruce. His credentials to Ali, Dey of Algiers, are dated May 10. and the official order to sail, June 26. 1762.

† The papers which are preserved, relating to this journey, are a narrative of the route from Turin to Bologna. Inscriptions. Account of Trajan's tables---of Bologna---of the paintings there. Route from Bologna to Rome. Description and catalogue of the paintings in St Peter's---the Vatican---Capitol---Belvidere---Albani---Barbarini palaces; in the Pal. Spado---Little Farnese---Colonna---Corsini---Borghese, &c. Route from Rome to Naples. Dissertation on ancient and modern Rome. Florence. &c.

took large memoranda of every remarkable place and object which he surveyed. His catalogue of the paintings found in different parts of Italy, is very extensive; and his remarks on them are such, as indicate the correctness, no less than the variety, of his taste and judgment *. The enthusiasm with which he trod the faded scene of Roman glory, the ground which produced so many heroes and sages, might be men-

* An idea of this catalogue may be formed from the following extract.

List of the paintings in the second room in the palace Pamfilo.

The Virgin, Child, and two angels, by Mola. Small angels, figure about 16 inches; Dominichino. Virgin, Child, and St John, picture about 2½ feet; Andrea del Sarti. Magdalen of Titian, half-length, well painted; the arms and hands particularly good; head stiff. Endymion asleep, by Guercino; it is well painted, but the drapery of the head is low, and the drapery not noble. A young man with a sheep (or goat), by Michael Angelo Caravaggio. It is well designed, strong colours, rather on the yellow; light and shade strong. Prodigal son, by Guercino, half figures. It is well painted in his strong manner, but seems a little blackened. The head on the left of the picture is scarcely discernible. Magdalen looking at a skull, a head by Dominico Feti, much damaged. In a good style of design, Bartolus and Baldus, two Roman lengths, the left head remarkably fine; said to be by Raphael, but rather seems by Titian. Dead Christ supported by a disciple, the Virgin fainting, and Magdalen bowing at his feet, and worshipping. It is a small picture, about 20 inches high, by Paul Veronese; all the heads fine, the action of the Madonna most graceful; all the draperies well executed. * * * * * * *

tioned to his credit, if it were not inseparable from every reflecting and well cultivated mind.

In consequence of the reception which Mr Bruce met with from several persons of distinction in Italy, he was enabled to view it with superior advantage. The Marquis di Ranuzzi paid him at Bologna the same flattering attention which M. du Tillot had done at Parma. He arrived at Rome in the beginning of August. The English residing there, and their acquaintance, including almost the whole of the Roman nobility, vied with each other in civilities to the stranger. By their friendship he had an opportunity of examining every thing in their palaces, churches, and cabinets, worthy the attention of a traveller.

It appears, from sketches found among his papers, that he intended to write a short dissertation on the ancient and modern state of Rome. This he probably began for his own amusement, at the time when his imagination was full of the subject, and afterwards abandoned, through deference to the skill and better opportunities of other inquirers. His notes correct several of those mistakes of former writers, which are noticed by Mr Lumisden in his ingenious work, entitled "Roman Antiquities." With that gentleman he contracted a sincere and lasting friendship; which, besides the usual advantages, was of this further service, that Mr Lumisden procured for him the

only assistant whom he had in the course of his travels, and executed for him at Rome many little commissions in matters of literature, during the time of his residence in Africa.

After satisfying his curiosity, Mr Bruce set out for Leghorn, where he expected to find dispatches from government. Having adjusted the means of communication with Mr Mann, the British consul at that place, he returned in the month of September to Rome *. The three following months he spent chiefly at Florence, well known for the charms of its climate and situation. During this period, he improved himself carefully in drawing; and the taste and skill which he acquired in that art in Italy, produced the excellent style and manner in which his whole collection is allowed to be executed †.

Another year approached insensibly in this studious retreat, without bringing any orders to sail for Algiers: The business of Malta still remained unsettled, at least as far as he had received information. In the month of January 1763, he was instructed to await further commands at Naples, to which he repaired with additional pleasure, as this journey afforded him a view

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* Mr Wood, letters to Mr Bruce at Rome, dated Aug. 25. 1762.

† Letters to and from Mr Bruce at Florence, 1762 and 1763.

of the South of Italy, and favoured a particular design which the nature of his studies had led him to form. While residing at Florence, he had purchased some drawings of ruined architecture, made in the kingdom of Naples by a Spanish officer. It occurred to him that these might be engraved, and published along with a dissertation on Paesto, the place where the ruins were found, on a new and ingenious plan devised by himself. He had observed, that a number of ancient coins belonging to this and other inferior cities of Italy, existed in the cabinets of the curious. These authentic monuments, the work of different periods and ages, he purposed to collect, arrange, and describe, in such a manner, as should, along with other information, illustrate the history of the place. On arriving at Naples, he communicated this project to Sir James Gray, the British Ambassador in that city, and requested him to undertake a small work on Paesto, in which the coins should contribute a considerable share of historical instruction.

Sir James, though exceedingly well qualified for this undertaking on account of his skill in ancient architecture, and of the number of coins in his possession, declined to comply with the request. On the contrary, he strongly advised Mr Bruce to visit Paesto, in order to verify or correct the drawings, promising at the same time all his influence and assistance in pro-

moting the work. With this intention Mr Bruce set out from Naples on a journey to the ruins, the principal of which he found to be three temples of the Doric order. Of these he took plans and elevations, which are still preserved in his collection of drawings. He also traced the walls of the city, which are about three miles in circumference, built with large uncemented stones, and the ruins of an amphitheatre, an aqueduct, and some baths *.

He returned from Paesto much satisfied with his excursion, and began to arrange the materials of his account. Having left Naples, where he had no communication from the ministry, he passed on to Rome, and thence to Florence. At the latter city, he

* Posidonia or Paestum, was founded by a colony of Dorians from the Peloponnesus, about the time when the south of Italy acquired, on account of its Greek population, the name of Magna Graecia. The ruins are about fifty miles S. E. of Naples, situated on a bay, which was called after the town. It was successively taken by the Crotonians, Lucanians, and Romans. These last sent a colony to Paestum, which preserved its fidelity to the mother state during the second Carthaginian war. Under the empire, it became like most of the other Italian towns, obscure and inconsiderable. It was burnt by the Saracens in the year 915, and much dilapidated by the Norman princes in the 11th century. The remaining ruins, which nevertheless are very ancient, attracted the attention of no antiquary before the year 1746, when the curiosity of the public was excited by the notices of Baron Antonini.

engaged a painter* to compose a frontispiece for his intended work, and entrusted the engraving of the drawings to his friend Mr Strange, then in Italy. In the month of February†, dispatches arrived from England informing him, that the Grand Master of Malta had sent an ambassador to the British court, who had explained the causes of his master's conduct in a manner satisfactory to his Majesty. About the same time a British ship received orders to stand in for the Italian coast, and carry Mr Bruce to the place of his appointment.

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* Sign. Zocchi.

† Mr Wood's official order, dated February 8, and Captain Howe of the Montreal's letter from Leghorn to Mr Bruce, March 2. 1763.

SECTION II.

THE ship in which Mr Bruce sailed from Leghorn arrived at Algiers on the 20th of March 1763, from which time he began to discharge the duties of his office with great ability and perseverance. As the origin and character of the Barbary states are too well known to require a particular description, the following account is restricted to the period of his consulship, which was uncommonly dangerous and disagreeable.

For several months after his arrival no remarkable incident occurred. Being already acquainted with the written Arabic, he applied diligently to the study of that language as it is spoken in Barbary, for although the consul is always supplied with an interpreter, Mr Bruce had resolved to make little use of his assistance.

He next directed his attention to the politics of the country, which, at that time, were unfavourable to Britain. The court was displeased at the moderate terms on which the English enjoyed peace at Algiers, while other Christian states were annually paying large sums of money for that advantage; and this discontent spread rapidly among the populace and soldiers, whose turbulence rose to such a height as to make it dangerous for the English consul to appear in public.

The divan, or council, was divided into parties. At the head of one of these was the Aga Mahomet, the Dey's brother, who was followed by all the independent and intelligent officers: The other was led by the Dey himself, who knew that a war with Britain was a measure agreeable to the indigent part of the community, and strongly recommended by the renegadoes, his particular friends*.

These favourites detected a circumstance in the state of the English trade in the Mediterranean, which they attempted to turn to their own advantage. The arti-

* The particulars respecting Mr Bruce's consulship are derived from his official correspondence with Lord Halifax, from April 1763 till May 1765. Copies of most of the letters transmitted to government are preserved in his own hand-writing. The letters which he received on business, from 1763 till 1765, have been also consulted. *Vide* Appendix, note D.

cle in the treaty of peace and commerce*, which defines the passport to be carried by English ships in those seas, uses the words "proper passes," by which the Algerines were accustomed to understand a printed paper issued by the Admiralty, with a check like a bank-note. A number of these passports fell into the hands of the French on the taking of Minorca in 1756, and were sold by them to the Spaniards, and other enemies of the Barbary states. To remedy the inconvenience arising from this accident, the governors of Mahon, Gibraltar, and other British ports, furnished the shipping with written certificates, but the pirates could not read nor distinguish these, as they wanted the check; nor would the Dey and his ministers give credit to the consul's explanation of the cause which occasioned the use of them. The renegadoes inveighed against the supposed duplicity and arrogance of the English, and importuned their master to order every ship to be seized which carried a *passavant* †.

As Mr Bruce opposed this counsel with the utmost resolution, the Dey disowned him as consul, and sent a messenger to England to solicit his removal. Acts

* The treaty of peace and commerce, between the British and Algerines, was concluded by Admiral Herbert in 1682. It has been often renewed and amended; but the articles are neither well understood nor observed.

† Name given to a passport of this kind, in the Mediterranean.

of violence and insult daily occurred. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Aga's party, the confidence of which Mr Bruce had fortunately secured, orders were issued * soon after to seize and confiscate every ship bearing a written passport. The consul succeeded in warning the trade in the Mediterranean of this danger. Only one ship came into the harbour, and was immediately seized, the captain and crew made slaves, and the vessel broken to pieces †.

In the same strain of violence, the Dey's favourites detained a messenger ‡, whom Mr Bruce had sent off with dispatches to government, and proposed to force his secretary by torture to discover their contents The refusal of the captain of an English frigate §. to carry a letter from the Dey to the King, threw the leading party in the divan into the greatest rage against Mr Bruce, to whom it erroneously ascribed the conduct of that officer. The renegadoes demanded his immediate dismission, and could scarcely be restrained from treating him ignominiously. It had been customary at Algiers to make the consuls of

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* July 8th 1764.

† July 17th.

‡ Mr Ball, surgeon to the consulship, detained July 22d.

§ Captain Dent of the Deal Castle frigate, which had been dispatched by Commodore Harrison for the purpose of warning the shipping in the Mediterranean not to go to Algiers.

other European nations draw the stone-cart, and to bastinado their servants. Mr Bruce was saved from this disgraceful sentence by the influence of the Aga's party; but received orders to leave the country in three days, under pain of death *.

When he was about to embark, an important change took place in the divan. All the great officers went in a body to the Dey, and stated to him the ruinous consequences of a war with England, which, they affirmed, could be prevented only by detaining the consul. The Dey, struck with a panic at this unexpected application, requested Mr Bruce to stay till the differences should be adjusted by peace or war, during which time he would behave to him as a father to a son.

Though Mr Bruce had written to Lord Halifax, then minister for the southern department, a regular account of his situation, both he and the Algerines were kept in suspense, for eight months after this re-

* Mr Bruce received this order August 15th, and wrote to Lord Halifax on the same day. The remonstrance was made on the 17th, being Friday, the Mahometan sabbath, on which the divan is always assembled. He wrote an account of his being detained to the minister on the 20th. As he had stated that he was on the point of leaving Algiers, a letter from Lord Halifax, October 19th, intimated his recall; which was countermanded November 3d. After this Mr Bruce received no further communications from government.

monstrance, with regard to the designs of the British government. The ministry seems to have paid little regard to his dispatches, though they merited particular attention. A report prevailed at Algiers, that an English squadron, destined for the coast of Barbary, was assembling in the Mediterranean, which excited the expectation of the consul, and alarmed the Dey and his favourites to such a degree as to make him express an unusual desire of peace. Several of the renegadoes confessed to Mr Bruce the part which they had taken in the former outrages. The ministry formed no resolutions of importance: They only issued an order* for abolishing the use of passavants, and desired Mr Bruce to inform the Dey that regular passports would be speedily prepared, but could not be circulated for a considerable time. They acknowledged his services, and laid an account of them before his Majesty, which was honoured with his gracious approbation †.

As soon as the order was issued, the Dey's messenger, already mentioned, wrote a letter to his master, informing him, that the King of England had freely consented to the seizure of all British ships bearing passavants; that he was much dis-

* Order for abolishing the use of passavants, Dec. 19. 1764.

† Letter from Lord Halifax, Sept. 18. 1764.

pleased at the conduct of his consul; and intended to dispatch an ambassador to Algiers, with an agent more agreeable to the Dey. On receiving this intelligence, the Algerine navy put to sea in quest of prizes. An accident prevented the success of the expedition; but the impropriety of encouraging these pirates to scour the seas about Gibraltar, where they could not fail to enslave a number of unhappy persons in the service of the English garrisons, excited Mr Bruce's surprise and resentment *. The report of his having incurred the displeasure of the King, or rather that of the ministry, he treated at first as a slander invented by his enemies; but subsequent events induced him to believe that it was not totally destitute of foundation. A party at Algiers, which had considerable influence in England, had long been engaged in conveying to those in power accounts injurious to his character and reputation. Besides the natural opposition of such as wished to fix their friends in the consulship, he had excited the malice of a number of persons, by the rigid abhorrence which he had always shown of every thing mean or unjust, and by the haughty distance at which he had kept those whom he knew to be undeserving. Instead of conniving at dishonesty,

* Letters to Lord Halifax from Algiers, April 5th and 24th 1765.

he expressed his open decided contempt of it on every occasion. This conduct inclined many to palliate the outrages of the Dey, and to depreciate the independent spirit with which the consul had opposed them*.

In the course of his official correspondence with the ministry, Mr Bruce had, at times, ventured to remind Lord Halifax of the promise which he had given, to allow him a few months absence on a journey through the interior of the country, before he should resign his appointment. The minister seemed willing to oblige him in this particular, but never performed his promise †. His letters were extremely few and short. In autumn, 1764, he informed Mr Bruce that one Mr Goldsworthy was appointed his successor; but no further accounts arrived from government till May following, when he received intimation of the appointment of Captain Cleveland, as his Majesty's ambassador to the Barbary states, and of Mr Kirke, as consul at Algiers. No mention was made of the permission which Mr Bruce had solicited with so much anxiety; some of the ministry were said to have even censured his request as improper; so he was reduced to the ne-

* A minute detail of the particulars on which this statement is founded, might, if necessary, be given from the papers still preserved, that exhibit very clearly every part of his conduct at Algiers.

† Letters from Mr Wood to Mr B. London, 26th October, 1764.

cessity either of making his excursion as a private individual, or of abandoning the principal design of his residence in Barbary.

The verbal submission of the Dey, along with his protestations of sincerity, and offers of making compensation for the damages sustained by the English, persuaded Captain Cleveland to ratify the peace without any minute investigation, or scruple. He treated Mr Bruce with coldness *, made little use of his assistance in settling public affairs, and spent his time chiefly in the company of those whom the consul had avoided. Mr Bruce resented this behaviour, and thought that a spirit, becoming the dignity of the British nation, would have demanded redress of injuries in a different manner †.

The Dey of Algiers, though guided by the counsels of renegadoes, had long admired the firmness and integrity with which Mr Bruce had served his country. A kind of friendly intercourse had subsisted between them, from the time of the remonstrance, already mentioned. The Aga Mahomet was his particu-

* Letters between Mr Bruce and Amb. Cleveland, June 20, 24, 28, &c. 1765.

† Mr Bruce delivered a very accurate statement of the different infringements of the treaty, which had taken place during his consulship, to the ambassador. June 24. 1765.

lar friend, visited him frequently, and invited him to his hunting parties. The knowledge which Mr Bruce possessed of the Arabic language was of great service to him in this intercourse with the nobles, and gave him an opportunity of hearing their private sentiments, and of stating his own opinion on many subjects never confided to the ear of an interpreter. At a private audience of the Dey, which he obtained for the purpose of asking his permission to travel through the inland provinces of Algiers, he had the satisfaction to receive the most cordial promises of friendship and protection in the course of his journey, and letters of recommendation to the governors of the places which he intended to visit.

Mr Bruce sailed for Tunis, on the 25th of August, 1765, along the African coast, by Ras el Hamra, Tabarca *, and Bona. Having passed Biserta, he went on shore to examine the ruins of Utica and Carthage, and on arriving at Tunis, he obtained permission from the Bey to travel through his dominions in any direction he might think proper.

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* Mr Bruce had proposed to Lord Halifax to obtain the island of Tabarca from the Bey of Tunis, as a station for the British trade in the Mediterranean. The Bey was willing to grant it, and a description of the place was transmitted to the minister, about the time when the disturbances prevailed at Algiers.

The British consul in that city was Mr Gordon, a relation of Mr Bruce, and eager to serve him; the French consul, M. de Saisieu, a gentleman of the most accomplished and amiable character, was equally desirous to promote his designs, and to render his stay at Tunis agreeable and commodious.

The preparations of various kinds which he had made for this journey were numerous. He was perfectly acquainted with the Moorish language and character. To assist him in drawing he had procured from Rome a young Bolognese architect and painter, called Luigi Balugani, who had been patronised by the Marquis di Ranuzzi, and who discovered excellent talents for his profession, though his experience was yet very limited, and his knowledge imperfect. This artist was chosen and engaged for Mr Bruce by Mr Lumisden *, the ingenious author of "Roman Antiquities," and was the only Italian who would consent to undertake a journey into Africa. Under Mr Bruce's direction he became an expert and able draughtsman. The number of drawings which they executed together is, indeed, surprising. They delineated the ruins of all the ancient cities in the

* Italian agreement between L. Balugani and A. Lumisden for Mr Bruce, Rome, February 9. 1765. Letters of Mr Lumisden to Mr B. July 13. 1765.

north of Africa, of Balbec and Palmyra, besides many articles in natural history, in a manner which the best judges have honoured with their approbation. Part of their labours was facilitated by the use of a camera obscura *, which Mr Bruce had procured from London, along with astronomical instruments for the purpose of ascertaining the geography of the country.

They set out from Tunis about the middle of September, 1765 †, into the interior. Their route lay at first along the river Mejerda, to Tucca, Keff, and Hydra, the district of the Welled Sidi Booganim. In all these places, they found ruins of Grecian architecture, which Mr Bruce delineated, and of which, as well as of the other ancient cities which he afterwards visited in Barbary, a short account may be found in the Introduction to his Travels. He proceeded from Hydra to Tipasa, and thence entered Constantina, the most easterly and beautiful province belonging to Algiers. Near Constantina ‡, the principal town, in which

* Letter from Mr William Hamilton, London, November 6. 1764, and April 5. 1765, about the camera obscura, and the plates engraved by Strange for Mr Bruce's work on Paesto.

† These journies, as appears by letters to and from the British and Venetian consuls at Tunis, &c. were performed between September, 1765, and February, 1766.

‡ Letter of Mr B, to Consul Gordon from Constantina, January 2. 1766.

the Dey has a palace, Mr Bruce discovered the ruins of Cirta, the capital of Syphax. Having rested some days at the palace where the Dey had given orders for his reception, he advanced to Siteef, Taggouzainah, Medrashem, and Jibbel Aures, where he met with a savage tribe, the colour of whose hair and whose features seem to indicate their descent from the nations in the north of Europe. From Jibbel Aures he returned towards Tunis by Tezzoute, Cassareen, Spaitla, Muchtar, and Tugga. In most of these places, particularly at Spaitla, he found magnificent ruins, either of temples, triumphal arches, or other public buildings erected by the Romans, in the best ages of the empire.

His next journey from Tunis was by Zowan, Jelloula, and Cassareen, to Feriana, or Thala. From Thala he returned by Cafsa, Tozer, Shibgah el Lowdeah, Gabs, El Hammah, and El Gemme, and thence along the sea coast to Tunis, where he arrived in good health, and made his acknowledgements to the Bey for the friendly protection with which he had honoured him in the course of his journies.

He next prepared to visit Tripoly, the road to which was then dangerous on various accounts. The Bey of Tunis was at enmity with the Basha of Tripoly, and would grant him no letters of recommendation to that prince: The intermediate country was

infested by tribes of independent Arabs, particularly by the Wargamma and Noile, who inhabit the wide sandy deserts between the two states: The Basha of Tripoly was also at variance with the Hon. Mr Fraser of Lovat, British consul in that city, to whom Mr Bruce had written a letter, requesting him to procure an escort from the Basha. The Basha readily promised, but neglected to send it. When Mr Bruce saw that no assistance could be obtained from either state, he rashly ventured to cross the desert, attended only by his own servants; a measure of which he had reason to repent. Having taken the road, which he had formerly travelled, to Gabs, he proceeded to Gerba, the Meninx Insula of antiquity, situated on the borders of a sandy desert, infamous for robberies, and destitute of all accommodation for travellers. The Bey of Tunis, with his usual munificence, had prepared for him a house at Gerba before his arrival, and sent every sort of refreshment from his own palace. Provisions were furnished to the whole company, at the Bey's expence, for the space of a month; the time which was spent in waiting for an escort from Tripoly. As none arrived, they attempted to pass the desert alone, being only ten in number, of whom seven were embarrassed by the camels which carried their water and food. On the third night after leaving Gerba, Mr Bruce and his little company, which

he had encreased and encouraged by every means in his power, were assailed by a number of Arab horsemen; whom they repulsed with difficulty, and with the loss of four men. They were received at Tripoly with every sort of kindness by Mr Fraser, who had despaired of their safety. The misfortunes which they had encountered were imputed to the Basha, who had failed to grant them an escort, and who probably intended, if they had fallen, to lay the blame of their murder on the English consul *.

As this was not the time for asking favours of the Basha, Mr Bruce deferred his journey till Mr Harrison, who was appointed by government to settle the differences with the Barbary states, should solicit permission for him to travel through the dominions of Tripoly. He therefore returned along the coast of the lesser Syrtis to Tunis, where he resided till August 1766. The Basha gave Mr Bruce permission to visit every part of his territories, and added many promises of favour and protection, which were never fulfilled. As soon as the latter knew that he might pass the desert in safety, he proceeded by the way of Sfax and Gerba †

* Letter of Mr Bruce to Mr Wood, April 2d 1766.

† Mr Bruce's letter to M. Durand at Tunis from Gerba, August 18. 1766.

to Tripoly, where he was kindly received by the British, French, and Venetian consuls.

From Tunis and Tripoly he dispatched his books, drawings, and supernumerary instruments, to Smyrna, in Asia Minor, reserving only such articles as should be necessary in his journey through the Pentapolis and Cyrenaicum. By this measure he fortunately saved the greatest part of his labours in Africa. He then crossed the gulph of Sidra, in ancient times called the greater Syrtis, and landed at Bengazi, a city founded by one of the Ptolemies *.

A brother of the Basha of Tripoly commanded in this barren and distant province; an office for which he was ill qualified on account of his youth and inferior abilities. He had suffered the independent Arabs near the town to engage in mutual hostilities, which occasioned a famine, the most dreadful of all calamities in a place so destitute of resources as Bengazi. The inhabitants had been threatened with a scarcity for more than a year before; but their miseries were completed by an accession of four thousand Arabs, one

* Letters, &c. to Mr Bruce at Sidon from Consul Gordon, Tunis, 23d September 1767. Mr Bruce left with Mr Gordon many of his books and drawings, which were sent to Sidon by way of Alexandria. The rest were sent from Tripoly by way of Smyrna, Nov. 1766. He arrived at Tripoly in the beginning of September, where he remained till the 25th of October.

of the contending parties, which was driven into the town by the arms of the other. All the horrors of famine instantly appeared. Ten or twelve persons were found dead in the streets every morning; and some were reported to have prolonged a miserable existence, by means from which nature recoils. Mr Bruce entreated the Bey to send him out of the town, to some place farther to the south, among the Arabs, where the famine was less felt.

The Bey consented, and allowed him to pass into the interior, where he visited whatever places he thought worthy of notice, approaching the coast, or leaving it, as convenience suggested. He found nothing remarkable at Barca or Arsinoe. At Ras Sem he had the satisfaction of disproving an improbable story common in Africa, and circulated in England by a Tripoline ambassador. It had been asserted that a city existed in that place, the inhabitants of which had been all petrified by a special judgment of heaven. They were described, to the great amazement of the credulous, as still visible, fixed in the several attitudes, and at the different employments, in which they were overtaken by the divine vengeance.

Whether Mr Bruce visited the ruins of Curin, the ancient Cyrene, is uncertain. At Ptolometa, formerly Ptolemais, a city, of which the walls and gates are still entire, he delineated the few remaining columns

of the portico of a temple of the Ionic order. These are hewn in the first manner of executing that species of architecture; and though a scanty relic, deserved preservation as a historical monument of the art.

His excursions to the eastward were impeded by the cold unfriendly behaviour of the Bey of Bengazi, who was unwilling and unable to grant him the necessary protection *. He purposed to have reached Derna, but famine and the plague desolated that place. The Welled Ali Arabs, who occupy the country between Derna and Alexandria, were at war with one another, and plundered every stranger whom they could find. He therefore embraced the first opportunity of leaving Africa, by engaging the master of a small Greek vessel to carry him and his servants over to the island of Crete. The vessel was in very bad order, and the captain totally ignorant of naval affairs. After having sailed a short way, the weather became stormy, which obliged them to return to Bengazi; but before they could enter the harbour they were shipwrecked. Mr Bruce swam ashore with great difficulty, and was cruelly treated by the Arabs while he lay in a state of insensibility on the beach. Fortunately none of his servants perished in the shipwreck,

* Letter of M. Saisieu of Tunis, to Mr Bruce at Bengazi, Dec. 29. 1766; and that of M. de Lancey of Tripoly, of the same date.

but he lost his astronomical instruments, a great number of drawings, and other valuable articles. The Shekh of Ptolometa, the place where he was driven ashore, was at peace with the Bey of Bengazi, and sent Mr Bruce and his servants to that city *.

How long he remained there after his shipwreck is not exactly known †. He supplied the want of provisions by fishing, an expedient to which the ignorant inhabitants were averse amidst the horrors of famine. From several circumstances, it would seem that he was detained above two months, and at last escaped in a small French vessel, the captain of which he had known while at Algiers. In four or five days easy sailing, the ship arrived at Canea, a fortified place of some consequence in the island of Crete, where he was kindly received by M. Amoureux the French consul, a gentleman of engaging manners and of a very benevolent heart, who procured for him every accommodation which the island could afford.

The exertion at Ptolometa, the rude treatment on the shore, and the miseries which Mr Bruce had suffered at Bengazi, had greatly affected his health. He

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* Introduction, Vol. I. pp. 48. 49.

† Mr Bruce, as appears from letters addressed to him, was at Bengazi from October 27. till 29th December 1766. It is supposed that he reached Crete in January 1767.

was seized with an intermittent fever at Canea, and detained there for several months. While in that place, he was informed that many remarkable ruins had been seen on the adjoining continent, in Carmania, a Turkish province, which comprehends a great part of what was formerly called Asia Minor. With a design of visiting these, on his recovery he wrote to Mr Murray, then British ambassador at Constantinople, to obtain for him a firman, or Imperial passport, through the countries on the south-east of the Mediterranean *. His health being still precarious, he had not left Crete before he received a very obliging letter from M. Peysonnel †, French consul at Smyrna, at the instance of M. Saisieu of Tunis. It enclosed two letters of recommendation, one addressed to the Khan of the Tartars, then in exile at Rhodes, and another to Hassan *ttbiaus oglou*, a person of great authority in Asia Minor, whose influence would have procured access to all the Agas of Caramania. To this favour, worthy of M. Peysonnel's amiable character and attachment to literature, he added the offer of his house when Mr Bruce should arrive at Smyrna,

* Letters of Mr Murray, Constantinople, March 31, April 15, and April 28. 1767.

† M. Peysonnel's letter, Smyrna, May 28. 1767.

and gave him a letter of introduction to his brother-in-law M. Clairembaut, French consul at Sidon; which was attended with consequences very fortunate for the traveller ‡.

Having left Canea about the end of April 1767, he sailed to Rhodes, where he found his books and papers, which had been sent from Tunis and Tripoly. From Rhodes he proceeded to Castel Rosso, on the coast of Caramania, where his illness returned, and obliged him to give up all hopes of travelling in Asia Minor. Despairing of being able to prosecute this design, as soon as his fever abated, he bore away for Sidon on the coast of Phœnicia, and landed at Beiroot, the ancient Berytus*. At Sidon he was kindly received by M. Clairembaut, a gentleman whom he found to be equal in humanity, and every social quality, to any whom he had ever known. It was Mr Bruce's fortune to receive many of the most important services for

‡ Mr Bruce corresponded extensively while he was in the Levant (1767 and 1768), with M. Amoureux, and Sign. Raicewitch, French and Ragusan consuls at Canea; MrBaldwin, English consul in Cyprus, Mr Vernon and Mr Abbot, English consuls at Tripoly of Syria and Sidon, M. Belville of Aleppo, and several others.

* Letter of Mr Bruce to M. Belville, dated Beirout, June 30. 1767.

which one man can be indebted to another, from the hand of strangers. The French had at that time a flourishing establishment in the Levant, and the taste, politeness, and virtues of those who then composed it, well deserve the greatest encomium. The most amiable part of national character was displayed in the numerous attentions which he received from all quarters during his residence at Sidon. He spent in the families of the merchants there, and at Aleppo, which he afterwards visited, some of the happiest moments of his life *.

It is unnecessary to remind the reader, that the country around Sidon is classic ground. From this city, which was as respectable for its literature in the latter ages, as it was celebrated for its commerce in the earliest periods of antiquity, the Greeks received arts and letters. At present no monuments remain to shew that it ever was considerable. Its principal manufacture is silk, which the inhabitants raise in the gardens around the town. By imprudently sleeping all night in the tents erected in these, for the convenience of the people employed in the manufacture, Mr Bruce relapsed into the ague and fever which had seized him in Africa. He was confined several weeks, but as soon as his strength returned, he amused him-

* Introduction, pp. 54. 58.

self with short excursions to Mount Libanus, and other places in the vicinity of Sidon, which are well known in ancient history, but not remarkable at present. On the 29th of July 1767, he was at Paneas, one of the sources of the river Jordan, where he found the papyrus growing in the marsh near that place. On the 31st he made a drawing and description of the Musa, or Banana tree, which he had met with in the course of his travels in that part of Phœnicia.

In the beginning of August he arranged the plan of his intended journey to Balbec and Palmyra. The English consul at Tripoly procured * him a letter of recommendation from the Aga of that place to Mahomet Kerfan, a Shekh at Hassia, a town between Aleppo and Palmyra. The Arab chief informed Mr Bruce by a messenger, that the road which he intended to travel to Palmyra from Aleppo was expensive and dangerous; because the Mutuali and Annecy, two tribes which possess the surrounding country, were on bad terms with one another, and could not ensure protection to strangers. This Shekh was official protector of the caravans passing by Palmyra, and supported his influence with the different tribes by intermarriages and friendship. His advice was therefore to be relied

* Common-place Books, No. 2.

upon, especially as he promised to send a guide to Hamath, the northern boundary of the Holy Land, who should, if the Arabs were at peace, conduct Mr Bruce to the ruins of Tadmor *.

On the 16th of September Mr Bruce set out from Sidon on his way to Balbec. In the morning of the third day after, he unexpectedly fell in with a party of Druses, pagan inhabitants of mount Libanos, who were waiting for the arrival of their prince, the Emir Yousef. That chief had just finished the conquest of Balbec, and deposed the reigning governor for rebellion. Mr Bruce was relieved from the company of these mountaineers, about an hour after, by the appearance of Yousef and his army, with their green ensign carried before them. Yousef, to whom he had been recommended, gave him letters and a passport for Balbec; at which he arrived on the 19th in perfect security.

He immediately began to measure and delineate the principal ruins; which are well known to be highly magnificent. Balbec was probably founded long before the dawn of history, as the worship of the sun, under the name of Baal, "the king of heaven," is so ancient in that country, that the earliest Asiatic writings which are extant allude to the practice as com-

* Palmyra is universally called Tadmor, in the East.

mon and established. When Asia became subject to the Romans, the piety or munificence of the Cæsars rebuilt many of its decayed temples, with a splendour which far surpassed the ability of its native kings. The temple of the sun, in this city, was repaired by order of Aurelian, and decorated with the fine proportions of the Corinthian order. The history of Balbec, however, notwithstanding the beauty of the place, is exceedingly obscure. No Greek or Roman author mentions the cause of its having obtained so large a share of imperial favour. Like Palmyra, it was probably one of the stations of the Indian trade, and owed its consequence and support to that circumstance. The ruins of the temples have suffered greatly from time and other injuries. Mr Bruce delineated every thing that deserved attention in them, being fully at leisure, and unmolested by any inconvenience.

Having finished his operations at Balbec he returned to Tripoly, whence, in a few weeks, he set out for Palmyra. He proceeded by Hassia and Cariateen, under the protection of the Shekh of Hassia, which is situated on the western border of the desert. Having travelled about sixty miles through the sandy wilderness, without intermission, day or night, he and his company on the morning of the 19th of October reached the top of the eminence, near the city, from

which travellers obtain the first view of Palmyra. From this hill they descried, with all the astonishment naturally excited by a sight so remarkable, the remains of the city of Zenobia, perhaps the most magnificent ruins in the world. Though time and violence have greatly impaired its original beauties, Palmyra is one of the most splendid works of human industry and genius, that ever have been abandoned to solitude and desolation.

As it was impossible that two persons could delineate the ruins separately in the time allotted for their stay, Mr Bruce divided the whole into six angular views, always bringing into the fore-ground a principal edifice, or groupe of columns. The state of the buildings was favourable for this method; the soil on which the town is built being hard, and the columns uncovered to the base. He made, in all, thirteen large drawings, which, along with those of Balbec, he presented on his return to the king. As Mr Wood had before obliged the public with measures of the principal ruins, he omitted that labour, having resolved to publish nothing on a place which his friend had described.

He returned to Tripoly in the end of October, and after a short stay with Mr Abbot, the English consul, travelled along the coast northward to Latakia, the ancient Laodicea ad mare, where he spent some

days with Mr Vernon, consul in that town. From Latakia he came to Antioch, and thence to Aleppo, where his fever and ague returned with a violence which threatened his life. Good fortune, as usual, did not desert him in this perilous state of health. He had been recommended at his arrival in Syria, by Belli and Fonnerreau, bankers in Leghorn, to M. Belville, a French merchant in Aleppo. Never was any recommendation more successful, nor a heart more susceptible of friendship than that of M. Belville. The sentiments and pursuits of Mr Bruce were so congenial to the mind of this gentleman, that they soon became attached to one another, and maintained a regular correspondence, as far as their respective situations would admit, till the former was settled in Scotland. The state of health in which Mr Bruce was on his arrival at Aleppo, required every comfort that could be procured, and Mr Belville was not an indolent landlord. He engaged the assistance of Dr Patrick Russel, physician to the English factory, a gentleman, well known in the literary world for his ingenious treatise on the plague. By the attentions of the

* The first letter which Mr Bruce received from Mr Belville is dated Alep. 28 Juin, 1767. Those which afterwards passed between them are both long and numerous; they relate, however, chiefly to private affairs, and the state of the French families in the Levant. Mr Belville collected a number of coins and other curiosities for Mr Bruce, being exceedingly well skilled in these matters.

one friend, and the medical skill of the other, Mr Bruce recovered slowly, and though he had visited nobody on account of his illness, he was by the kindness of those about him already become a public care. The French, in particular, who nearly adored Mr Belville, heaped civilities on a man whom he had spoken of in the most flattering terms. As soon as he could appear in public, he equalled their expectations so fully, that he was obliged to confess that he never passed more agreeable hours in his life than in their society.

At this time he seized the opportunity of gaining another qualification as a traveller. He had studied under Dr Ball, physician to the consulship at Algiers, a few of the practical parts of medicine, with a view to use them on occasions when other assistance could not be procured. This kind of knowledge, however imperfect, is of great service to a traveller in barbarous countries, where he may often, by means of it, preserve his own life, and gain admission to places accessible only to persons of the medical profession. Mr Bruce intended to visit a country where the character of physician was the best introduction both to the court and nation. Dr Russel, therefore, at his request, furnished him with books and instruction. No man was better skil-

* Introduction, p. 63.

led in the diseases of the east; he described such of them as occur most frequently, with the modes of treating them, and pointed out a number of suitable medicines, which Mr Bruce carried with him into Abyssinia.

Two different expeditions occupied at this time Mr Bruce's attention. The transit of Venus over the sun was to happen in June, 1769. He wished to observe that phenomenon, which was visible only in the northern part of the globe, but this could not be done without undertaking a long and dangerous journey through Armenia, and the regions to the north of it, inhabited by the wandering Tartars. The vast distance between Asia Minor and a place suitable for observing the transit, seems to have made less impression on his mind, than it reasonably ought to have done. He had procured routes of the way to the shores of the Caspian, and probably would have attempted to reach them if other difficulties had not prevented him. But he had lost all his astronomical instruments at Bengazi, and observations of such importance required the use of the most improved kind which had yet been constructed. He had written to his friends in France and England, requesting them to purchase for him such instruments as he described. Their answers discouraged him greatly. They informed him, that no instruments fit for his purpose could be got in time, as

all the best artists were engaged by the different astronomers who intended to observe the transit. This disappointment was aggravated by accounts, which he received from England, of absurd and disrespectful stories relating to himself and his travels, which had been circulated there by some persons envious of his reputation.

The other expedition was a journey into Abyssinia, in which most of the learned had placed the sources of the Nile. The discovery of these had been long held out as an atchievement worthy of the ambition of kings, and had taken deeper possession of Mr Bruce's mind than any other project. But as this could not be accomplished in a scientific manner, without the aid of astronomical instruments, he was obliged to await the issue of the application that he had made to his friends, and which he had too much reason to apprehend would be unfavourable *.

In the beginning of March 1768, he left Aleppo. In his way to Tripoly, he came to the Asi or Orontes, the ford of which could not be distinguished, as the

* Letter of Dr P. Russel to Dr A. Russel, in London, dated Aleppo, February 11, 1768. Mr Bruce to Mr Russel, from Sidon, March 29, 1768, and the answer by Mr Russel, June 23. Letters from M. Guys of Marseilles, in answer to those of Mr Bruce, dated Marseilles, March 12, 29, and September 27, 1768.

river was swollen with the rains in the mountains. The natives treacherously pointed out a place where there had formerly been a bridge, at which, having attempted to pass, he and his horse fell suddenly into a deep and rapid current, and escaped with the greatest difficulty.

He thence travelled slowly along the Phoenician shore, and halted several days at Tripoly, Berout, Tortosa, and other places on the way, where he had friends, or wished to gratify curiosity.

Soon after arriving at the hospitable mansion of M. Clerembaut, he received letters from his friends in Europe, informing him, that they had procured, and would ship for Alexandria, a quantity of astronomical instruments. As these were to be dispatched for Egypt, and well-founded reasons inclined him to doubt of the success of a journey into the north of Asia, he resolved to visit the former country, which Norden and Pococke had praised for the magnificence of its ancient architecture. He expected to find, in the temples of Dendera and Thebes, some proportions and forms which had suggested the Greek orders. The strength and simple grandeur of the Egyptian architecture were already known in Europe. Mr Bruce hoped to direct the attention of the learned to some of its other qualities, not less remarkable. If in this he was not successful to the extent of his wishes, the disappoint-

ment that he felt was relieved by the hopes of more celebrated discoveries in Abyssinia, into which he now had resolved to penetrate, at the expence of every other enjoyment, and at the hazard of life.

Mr Bruce having sailed from Sidon, June 15, 1768, arrived soon after at Alexandria. As he had seldom quitted the Arab dress since his shipwreck at Bengazi, he retained it on landing in Egypt, in order to mislead the inquisitive spirit of the populace, who mistook him under this disguise for a Mugrebin, or Barbary Arab.

Egypt at that time, as it had long been, under the Mameluke government, was filled with oppression and injustice. There was no security for life or property. Though the supreme power was then in the hands of the celebrated Ali Bey, who favoured the Christians, he entrusted the management of the revenue to the Copts and Jews, whose aversion to the Franks counteracted the influence of his unusual partiality. The Bey retained on the throne the prejudices of his original condition. He was an implicit believer in astrology, and therefore had chosen for his minister a Copt called Maalem Risk, a pretender to that ridiculous science. When Mr Bruce's astronomical instruments were landed at Alexandria, Risk conceived a high opinion of their owner's skill in astrology, and

ordered them to be forwarded without paying duty, or being examined at the custom-house.

Mr Bruce and his servants proceeded to Rosetto by land, travelling in the dress of Barbary Arabs, and embarked on the Nile for Cairo, where they arrived in the beginning of July. They were received with great kindness and hospitality by the mercantile house of Julian and Bertran, and other French merchants to whom Mr Bruce was recommended by his friends in the Levant. When he privately communicated to them his intention of penetrating into Abyssinia, they were struck with astonishment at the rashness of such a design, but offered to assist him in it to the utmost of their power. In order that the government might not be prejudiced against him by insinuations, he gave out that he was going to India, and seldom appeared in public, except in the disguise of a Dervish who was skilled in magic, and cared for nothing but study.

Soon after his arrival, he was visited by Risk, who questioned him respecting his knowledge of the stars, and introduced him to his master as a physician and astrologer. After a few audiences, he completely gained the confidence and friendship of the Bey by his superior skill in medicine and prophecy.

In the course of his attendance on the Bey, he met with a Coptic priest called Father Christopher,

who had been his chaplain and intimate acquaintance at Algiers, and who was now promoted to the dignity of Archimandrite under Mark, patriarch of Alexandria. This priest informed him, that there was a number of Greeks in Abyssinia, many of whom enjoyed the first offices of the state; that they all had the greatest veneration for the patriarch, who was the head of the Abyssinian church, and honoured by the whole nation. He introduced his friend to the patriarch, and undertook to procure letters of recommendation to the principal Greeks at Gondar, and a general bull or pastoral admonition, in which they should be enjoined to renounce their pride and vanity, and to support with all their influence the stranger whom the patriarch sent among them. The priest made no delay in accomplishing his promises, and Maalem Risk furnished peremptory letters of recommendation, in the name of his master, to the cashefs of the principal places on the Nile, to Hamam, Shekh of Upper Egypt, and to the governors of Deir and Ibrim, garrison towns far up the river on the way to Dongola. The Bey likewise wrote in favour of "Yagoube his physician," to the Sheriffe of Mecca, the Naybe of Masuah, and the King of Sennaar.

Mr Bruce sailed from Cairo, December 12, 1768, on a voyage up the Nile. Particular circumstances in the conduct of the captain of the boat, made him

acquainted with a Shekh of the Howadat Arabs, by whose friendship he was enabled to visit the country about Metrahenny, and to determine, after Pococke, the site of Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt. He thence successively reached Gawa, Achmim, and Dendera, the last of which places is well known to possess most magnificent remains of Egyptian architecture. At Furshout he was graciously received by Shekh Hamam, who held the government of the greater part of Upper Egypt, and by his nephew Ishmael at Badjoura, with whom he resided till the 7th of January, 1769.

Having resumed his voyage, he arrived at the villages Elgournu and Medinet-Abou, situated on the ground which was formerly occupied by Thebes, the oldest metropolis of Egypt. He there visited the caves in the adjacent mountain, which are called the tombs of the kings, but seem to have been the common burial place of the city. The banditti, who live in these sepulchres, obliged him to cross the Nile at midnight to Luxor, where he was well received by the governor.

Having passed Esne and Edfu, he came to Shekh Ammer, the residence of Nimmer, chief of the Ababde Arabs, who possess the desert on the southern frontier of Egypt. Mr Bruce having asked the protection of Nimmer, who was an old man, in ill health, and much

disposed to be grateful for some medicines which the former had sent him from Furshout, the Shekh rose from his couch, and lifting his emaciated hand, pronounced a curse on any of the tribe who should injure him. He then summoned his people to the tent, and concluded the covenant of friendship between them and his physician.

After having secured the protection of the Ababde Arabs, Mr Bruce visited Syene and the cataract. He then returned down the river to Negade and Badjoura, where he waited the departure of a caravan, partly belonging to Shekh Hamam, and partly to the Ababde, which was soon to set out for Cosseir, on the Red Sea. Along with it, he left Kenne, Feb. 16, 1769, and proceeded across the barren desert, which lies between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf. This wilderness is part of the chain of mountains which runs the whole length of the Red Sea, and which, excepting that which divides Barbary from the regions on the Niger, is perhaps the most arid in the world. Mr Bruce, after suffering much inconvenience from the people of the caravan, arrived at Cosseir on the 22d of February, and remained there till the 5th of April, when he sailed for Arabia. During his residence at Cosseir he made an excursion up the coast of the Red Sea, as far as N. L. 23° 58′, and examined Jibbel

Zumrud, the emerald mine, described by Pliny and other ancient writers.

Being desirous to visit as many parts of the Red Sea as possible, instead of sailing straight over to Jidda, he directed his course for Tor, a village at the bottom of the gulf, at no great distance from Mount Sinai. In this voyage, as indeed in all others which he performed in the east, he paid great attention to the hydrography of his courses, making plans of the different harbours, and observations for the use of future navigators. He likewise collected a number of marine productions, of various kinds, in which the Red Sea is exceedingly fertile.

From Tor he sailed up the Arabian shore, by Imbo and Rabac, to Jidda, where he landed on the 3d of May. During this voyage he had slept little, being afflicted with slight returns of the ague which he had caught at Bengazi. He had long worn the Arab dress, and had sometimes passed for a Barbary Arab at Cairo, Shekh Ammer, and other places in the desert. He now so much resembled a Turkish galiongy, or sailor, that the captain of the port of Jidda was astonished to hear some of his servants say that he was an Englishman.

As soon as Mr Bruce came on shore, his baggage was carried to the custom house, while he went in his neglected dress to the English factory established in

that town. Jidda is the usual port in Arabia from which the English East-India Company disperses its merchandise over the adjoining countries. There was then a number of East India ships in the harbour, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the station, and the enormous extortions of the Sheriffe of Mecca, sufficient to ruin any species of commerce. Mr Bruce, whose appearance made no impression in his favour, was driven from the gate by one of his countrymen and relations, who mistook him for a vagrant; but he was received with great kindness and compassion by Captain Thornhill, of the Bengal Merchant. In the mean time, Yousef Cabil, governor of Jidda, having taken the liberty of examining his baggage, was surprised to find in it a number of valuable presents, and letters written by persons of the highest dignity, particularly a firman from the Sublime Porte, a letter to the Khan of Tartary, and several others from Ali Bey, addressed to the Sheriffe of Mecca, to his minister Metical Aga, and to Yousef Cabil himself. The style of these letters alarmed the governor. He came immediately to the factory to enquire about the English nobleman, recommended by the Grand Signior and Ali Bey, and was astonished to find him sitting under a shed in the habit of a Turkish sailor. A good understanding was instantly established with Yousef; the English gentlemen used

their whole influence to promote Mr Bruce's designs, and every head was employed in procuring letters of the most effective kind from the Sheriffe of Mecca to the Naybe of Masuah, the King of Abyssinia, and his general and prime minister, Michael Suhul.

Metical Aga, the sheriffe's minister, was originally an Abyssinian slave. He was well acquainted with Michael, then the most powerful person in Habbesh, on account of the small distance between Jidda and Tigre, Michael's own province; and still more on account of the great connection by trade which subsisted between the two kingdoms. The island of Masuah, and the district of Arkeeko, which form the chief entrance by sea into Abyssinia, had been seized by the Turks in the sixteenth century, and been usually governed by an Aga and garrison of janizaries; but the Naybe, or Turkish deputy, had at length declared himself independent, and could be forced only by an alliance between the Turks and Abyssinians to acknowledge the authority of the former. The Naybe, who then ruled at Masuah, was a person of a mean, cruel, and avaricious character, overawed only by the governor of Tigre. As it was well known that no stranger could escape out of his hands but with the greatest difficulty, Metical Aga, at the instance of the English, wrote in the most urgent terms to Ras Michael, that he was about to send him a Christian physician, who

was accustomed to wander over the world in search of herbs and trees beneficial to the health of man; a subject of a great king, sovereign of a powerful people, called the English, settled in India, and much esteemed at Jidda. He added, that he himself, and all the English in Arabia, were interested in the safety of this man, and entreated Michael to save him from the violence of the Naybe of Masuah, and to protect him till he should return to Cairo, by way of Jidda, or of Sennaar. The influence which Ali Bey, and the English, had over Metical Aga, Mr Bruce confirmed by presents; but this precaution did not satisfy Captain Price, of the Lion of Bombay East-India-man, who had taken a particular interest in his welfare, and whose friendship was of greater service to him than that of any other person at Jidda. He solicited Metical Aga to send a confidential servant with letters into Abyssinia, a measure to which Mr Bruce owed the preservation of his life.

As the person whom the Aga designed to send along with Mr Bruce required some time to prepare himself, the latter seized the opportunity of making an excursion to the southern parts of the Red Sea. He sailed from Jidda, July 8, 1769, to the regret of his countrymen, who dreaded a fatal termination of his voyage. The English ships saluted his vessel,

that left the harbour at the same time with one which carried over to the island of Dahalac, near Masuah, a new governor, appointed by the Basha of Jidda. That person arrived long before Mr Bruce, and told the Naybe, that a great prince, son or brother of a king, to whom all the English at Jidda had paid the highest honours, would soon pass through Masuah on his way to Habbesh. The Naybe therefore called a council, to deliberate whether he and his people should murder this illustrious stranger on landing, according to their usual custom, or preserve his life, till they should know from his letters by whom he was recommended or protected.

After leaving Jidda, Mr Bruce sailed up the Arabian coast by Confoda, Ras Heli, and Loheia, till he reached the straits of the Indian ocean. He returned partly along the African side of the gulf, and arrived at Loheia on the 6th of August, where he was obliged to wait till the beginning of September for his guide, Mahomet Gibberti. Mahomet at last joined him, with a firman from the Sheriffe to the Naybe of Masuah, and letters to Ras Michael. He also brought a letter for Ahmed, the Naybe's nephew, and one for Mr Bruce, from Sidi Ali, keeper of the sacred well of Mecca, whom Mr Bruce had known in Syria. Ali advised the traveller to distrust the Naybe, and to secure the friendship of Ahmed, who had much influence,

and was capable of generous actions. This information was valuable, as Ahmed had already defeated the counsels of his uncle.

When the divan was called at Masuah, in consequence of the governor of Dahalac's intelligence, Ahmed had firmly opposed the Naybe's measure of killing Mr Bruce at landing, as cruel and impolitic. It was improbable, he affirmed, that a person of such consequence would be unprovided with powerful protection; that half the guns which the English had fired in honour of him at Jidda, would, in a few hours, lay Masuah in ruins; and that Ras Michael's vengeance, if the stranger was recommended to him, would not be lenient. These reasons inclined most of the council to vote with Ahmed, which prevented the execution of a design equally inhuman and extraordinary.

Mr Bruce anchored before Masuah, September 19, 1769, after a tedious voyage, in the course of which he had been nearly shipwrecked. He remained on board that night, but Mahomet Gibberti instantly went on shore, and dispatched their letters of greatest importance to Adowa, the capital of Ras Michael's province. Amongst these was a copy of the patriarch's bull, and a letter from Mr Bruce to Janni, a respectable Greek, whom Michael had appointed his deputy governor. Mahomet then went immediately to the Naybe, in order to prevent suspicion. Ha-

ving met Ahmed by the way, he learned from him the counsel which he had given in the divan, and confirmed him in his former opinion. Intelligence of all this was conveyed to Mr Bruce before landing, which enabled him to appear to much advantage next day before Ahmed. That chief, imputing the stranger's knowledge of the Naybe's counsels to superhuman skill, confessed to him his uncle's bad intentions, promised his own friendship, and gave him a house and other accommodations.

The first audience which Mr Bruce had of the Naybe, was sufficiently discouraging. Though he pretended to be the servant of the Turkish emperor, he threw aside the Imperial order with the greatest indifference, and shewed the same disrespect to the letters of Ali Bey, the Porte of Janissaries, and the Sheriffe of Mecca. About three weeks after, he demanded an enormous present, which Mr Bruce refused to give on account of his being exempted from paying tribute in the Grand Signior's dominions. The Naybe endeavoured to frighten him into compliance by threats of imprisonment; but, finding these unsuccessful, he summoned a divan, in which he accused the stranger of several ridiculous offences, such as conversing with a comet then visible at Masuah, for the purpose of bringing diseases upon the country. Many of the soldiers supported these accusations, and had it not been

for his own firmness, and the interference of the Sardar* of the Janissaries, Mr Bruce would have been murdered on the spot. He escaped to his house, from which he kept up a correspondence with the Sardar, who informed him that his friend, Ahmed, being sick at Arkeeko, could not attend in council. On the night of that day in which the divan had been assembled, the Naybe sent a party to murder Mr Bruce, but they had not courage to make an attack on him, being terrified for his fire-arms. He found soon after an opportunity of visiting Ahmed, who was in ill-health, and in great need of medical assistance. That chief expressed his utmost abhorrence of his uncle's behaviour, and promised to furnish Mr Bruce with necessaries for his journey. No kindness could be more acceptable to the latter than a promise of this nature, but the pleasure arising from it was greatly enhanced by the arrival of three messengers from Abyssinia. One of these was from Janni, bidding Mr Bruce a hearty welcome to the country; the other two wore the dress of the crown-servants, and brought a letter to the Naybe from Ras Michael, requesting him to supply his physician with necessaries, and to forward him without delay.

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* Captain, or commander.

The Naybe was now obliged to let his prey escape. His last resource was to alarm Mr Bruce with false accounts of the state of several barbarous nations through which he had to pass in his journey to Tigre. These falsehoods were detected by the Abyssinian messengers, who used great familiarity with the Naybe. The charge of supplying the party with necessaries was left to Ahmed, who fulfilled his promise, without any assistance from his uncle.

The caravan set out from Arkeeko, on the 15th of November. At parting, Ahmed told Mr Bruce that the Naybe intended to embarrass, or, perhaps, murder him, in the road to Dobarwa, which lies through the Naybe's territories, and is the easiest entrance into Habbesh. He, therefore, advised him to take a different path over a number of rugged mountains, in which the fatigue of the journey would be compensated by safety, as he was master of the country, and knew that his orders would be obeyed. This advice was not to be neglected: they commenced their journey immediately, according to Ahmed's directions.

Soon after leaving Arkeeko, they began to ascend the stupendous range of mountains which parts Abyssinia from the Red Sea. These Alpine barriers exhibit all the singular appearances which are produced by a vertical sun, and immense heavy rains which fall on them at certain seasons. With excessive toil and fatigue,

encreased by carrying their heavy baggage, to which Mr Bruce's astronomical instruments made a large addition, the people of the caravan gained at last the summit of Taranta, one of the steepest mountains in their way, from which they had the pleasure of viewing, on the other side of it, the country of Habbesh.

They arrived soon after at Dixan, a frontier town, part of which belongs to the Naybe, and part to the Abyssinians. The Naybe's guides followed them to a place, called Hadadid, the utmost limit of his territories, where the Abyssinians exerted their authority, and drove them back to their master. The caravan encamped all night on the Abyssinian side of the boundary, in the open fields. It was a memorable station, as being the first where Mr Bruce recovered part of that tranquillity of mind, to which he had been a stranger since his arrival at Masuah.

SECTION III.

THEY left Hadadid, on the morning of the 26th of November, 1769, and, proceeding to the village of Hadawi, were met by the Baharnagash, Michael's deputy, a brave, but simple man, who, though accompanied by the insignia of his office, gave Mr Bruce an unfavourable opinion of Abyssinian noblemen. They soon became acquainted, and Mr Bruce bought a horse from him, which he afterwards called Mirza, (a name, he says, of good fortune,) and which he taught to perform the different paces and movements used by the Arabs and Mamelukes. The Abyssinians are totally ignorant of the excellence which the Moors and

Barbary Arabs have attained in managing horses. They were astonished, therefore, at the feats which Mr Bruce performed on horseback, and at the Barbary saddle and bridle, which he had brought along with him. He owed to his skill in horsemanship, a great part of the favour which he afterwards obtained in this barbarous and unhappy country.

On the 1st of December, the caravan reached Kellah, a small town in Tigre, not far from Debra Damo, a mountain which was used as a prison for the princes of the royal family of Abyssinia, when the court resided at Axum. They were detained there three days by the officers of the revenue, till an order came from Janni of Adowa to allow them to pass. On the 6th, they arrived at that town, the residence of Michael Suhul, and of his deputy, Janni, a venerable old man, who received Mr Bruce with every demonstration of kindness and affection. He burst into tears on hearing an account of the oppression which they had undergone at Masuah, and strove to compensate for the Naybe's violence by a thousand civilities. Mr Bruce and his servants resided with Janni from the 6th of December, 1769, till the 17th of January, 1770. The whole country was in suspense respecting the fate of Michael's campaign against the rebels. Nobody, even in his own province, loved the Ras. He had spent fifty years of his life in humbling every individual of

consequence in Tigre, and his house at Adowa contained no fewer than three hundred persons, all in irons, and most of them kept like wild beasts in cages, for the purpose of extorting money from them. The province of Woggora, between Tigre and the capital, presuming on the defeat of Michael, was nearly in open rebellion, and, therefore, dangerous to pass.

Having visited the ruins of the Jesuit's convent at Fremona, Mr Bruce came to Axum, formerly the metropolis of Abyssinia, and long the residence of the kings, who governed the Hamyarite colony, from which the Abyssinians are descended. Axum was built by the Ptolemies, as appears from the obelisks, and other remains of Egyptian architecture still existing there. Near these ruins, Mr Bruce had an opportunity of seeing the monks perform the Greek ceremony of blessing the waters at the Epiphany. Soon after leaving Axum, he observed a remarkable instance of the barbarism of the modern Abyssinians, a party of soldiers eating pieces of flesh cut from a living cow, which is a singular and frequent practice in that country *.

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*The custom of eating raw flesh seems to have been introduced from the south into Abyssinia. Macrizi, an Arabian writer

The caravan advanced through the province of Sire, which borders on Tigre, with much difficulty, and in perpetual fear of being attacked, or detained, by the governors of small districts, and officers of the revenue. After passing the Tacazze, which is the largest river in Upper Abyssinia, they entered Woggora, where the hardships of the way were encreased by the disaffection of the inhabitants, the extortion of the custom-houses, and the ruggedness of the road, which lay over mountains. Mr Bruce was informed in Woggora that Michael had been successful against Fasil, the rebel general, and was then at Ibaba on the

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of the thirteenth century, relates (Hist. Reg. Islam. edit. Link, p. 5), that, in the time of Hatze David II. son of Seif Araad, the Abyssinians ate raw-meat (cibum capium erudum); and mentions other disgusting circumstances detailed by Lobo. Alvarez Viag. della Ethiop. fol. 277, says "many eat raw flesh." Lobo, rel. d' Abyssinie, p. 22, relates, that the Galla in the south eat raw flesh, and live on nothing else. Speaking of the Abyssinians, p. 72, he affirms "that their greatest treat is a piece of raw beef "quite warm. When they give a feast, they kill an ox, and im- "mediately serve up a quarter of it on the table, with much pep- "per and salt; and the gall of the ox serves them for oil and vine- "gar." The practice of cutting the animal in pieces while alive readily follows; and accordingly Abram, an Abyssinian, told Sir W. Jones (1788), that the *country people* and *soldiery* make no scruple of drinking the blood and eating the raw flesh of an ox, which they cut without caring whether he is dead or alive; that this savage diet is, however, by no means general. Vide Asiat. Researches, Vol i. p. 384.

south of the lake of Dembea, on his return to Gondar. At a place called Kossogue, they first had a view of the metropolis, or rather of the king's palace, for the other houses were hid by the wanzey trees which grow in the town, and give it, at a distance, the appearance of a forest. On the 15th of February, they encamped on the Angrab, a small river, which runs by the city.

The principal people to whom Mr Bruce had letters of recommendation were absent with the army. But he was surprised at receiving no visit nor message from Petros, Janni's brother, who had been instructed to receive him. Petros, frightened at some menacing expressions which the priests had uttered on the subject of bringing Franks into the kingdom, had fled to Ibaba, in order to consult the Ras. On going to Michael's tent, he saw the skin of a Galla, one of his intimate acquaintances, whom the Ras had flayed alive, hanging on a pole before the door. This spectacle deprived him of all inclination for an audience, and he hastened back to Gondar, with orders from Negade Ras Mahomet, the officer, who has the superintendance of all foreigners in Abyssinia, that Mr Bruce should stay in that part of the town allotted to Mahometans, till the Ras should arrive.

Mr Bruce, therefore, took up his residence with Hagi Saleh, brother to the above-mentioned officer.

The small-pox, a disease which is so virulent and ill-treated in Habbesh, that it is scarcely less formidable than the plague, had attacked the country. The Mahometans were exceedingly thankful for the care which Mr Bruce took of their children, but they were soon deprived of his assistance. Ayto Aylo*, an Abyssinian nobleman of great influence with all the parties which then distracted the kingdom, and a professed patron of foreigners, hearing that a white man had come to Gondar, paid Mr Bruce a visit in the Mahometan town, and undertook to introduce him at court. Aylo was secretly a Catholic, and detested the priests of his own country; he was besides an admirer of horsemanship, and of those who excelled in it. The court resided at a place called Koscam, at some distance from the city, In the way to Koscam, Mr Bruce filled Aylo with astonishment, at the feats which he performed with his horse and double barrelled gun. Being prepared, therefore, to give the highest character of the stranger which could be expressed, Aylo introduced him to the Iteghe, or queen dowager, the first person of her sex in Abyssinia, and more revered than the king himself. This princess

* Ayto is the Abyssinian term signifying *Sir* or *Mr.* Ambet is the word used in addressing a lady. Ozoro, signifies prince or princess.

practice was to do more than he promised. All was in confusion at Gondar, on account of the large army around it; Mr Bruce therefore returned to Koscam, till he should receive further orders. The first scene which Michael acted after he arrived, was pulling out the eyes of a number of Galla officers whom he had taken in war, and then turning them out into the fields, to perish by famine and the wild beasts. Mr Bruce saved the lives of two of them, which was of service to him afterwards, when travelling through the Galla country to the sources of the Nile.

For some time after his first audience Mr Bruce thought himself entirely neglected by Michael and the king; but, about the middle of March, Aylo told him, that Mahomet Gibberti had delivered to the Ras two letters from Metical Aga, in which he explained to Michael Mr Bruce's character, designs, and religion, and requested that he would provide for his safety while he resided in Abyssinia. Michael complained that Metical did not know the state of the country, otherwise he would not have asked safety for a stranger, while the king himself was daily fighting for his life. "All I can do," said the Ras, "is "to keep him with me; if the king and I perish, he "cannot expect that it was in my power to defend his "stranger."—You do not know the man," exclaimed

Ayto Aylo, who remembered the feats at Koscam, "he is a devil on horseback; he rides and shoots bet-"ter than any man who ever came into Abyssinia.—"Put him about the king, and there is no fear of him."

Michael, therefore, instantly resolved to make Mr Bruce Palambaras, or master of the horse, an office of great honour and emolument, sometimes held by foreigners. Mr Bruce, however, declined it, on account of its requiring constant residence at court, which, he alleged, would prevent him from seeing the different parts of the country, particularly the sources of the Abay or Nile, which above all other places he was anxious to visit. When Michael understood that he disliked preferment of that description, he gave him a formal audience, and explained to him in a few words, very characteristic of himself, the unsettled state of the country, and the only method by which a stranger in it could hope for safety. He then announced to him that he had appointed him a Baalomaal, or one of the gentlemen whose office it is to wait on the king, and commander of the Coccob horse, a body of cavalry belonging to the household. After this, Aylo and Tecla-Mariam, the king's secretary, conducted Mr Bruce to the foot of the throne, where he made the prostrations usual in oriental countries on receiving preferment.

The various incidents which established Mr Bruce's

reputation for courage, abilities, and generosity, after his introduction to the king, though very interesting, are too minute to be enumerated in this place. He gained nearly as much by the discreet and liberal manner in which he treated his enemies, as by the respectful attention which he paid to his friends. He easily excited the admiration of an ignorant court by exhibiting effects of fire-arms well known in Europe, but sufficiently wonderful to such as have little knowledge of these matters. Though equally qualified for the field and court, he owed much of the favour bestowed on him by the Abyssinians to his medical character. In order, however, to prevent his being reckoned an indigent physician, he often refused the money which was offered him for his services, and by asserting that he practised medicine only for his own amusement, and through love for mankind, preserved the dignity of his character as a soldier and a man of rank.

By his situation at court, he had an opportunity of observing the gross debauchery in which the higher classes of people in Abyssinia indulge. All Gondar was one scene of festivity at the marriage of Powussen, governor of Begemder, a considerable Abyssinian province, with a grand-daughter of the Ras and the old queen. To celebrate this alliance, which was made for the sake of ensuring Powussen's fidelity to the government, Michael, Ozoro Esther, and the bride's mother,

distributed multitudes of cattle among the populace and army. Drink was given in proportion; and the dissipation which prevailed everywhere for some weeks can neither be described nor imagined. The married women ate raw beef, drank hydromel and spirits, and smoked like the men. Mr Bruce, though dejected, in ill health, and shocked at the grossness of such society, was often obliged to be present in it. He also attended the Ras, whose bodily complaints were much aggravated by the state of his mind. Fasil, the rebel general, had invaded Agow-midre, a province on the S. W. side of the lake of Dembea, from which Gondar is chiefly supplied with provisions; and daily accounts of the defeat and ruin of the Agows, obliged Michael to think of taking the field against him, though the rainy season was approaching, when all military operations are in a manner suspended.

Mr Bruce had hopes that Michael's expedition would facilitate his journey to the sources of the Abay, or Nile, in Agow-midre; but as the state of his health would not permit him to stay in Gondar till the army marched, he obtained leave from the king to retire to Emfras, about 20 miles from the capital, on the side of the lake of Dembea; where he arrived on the 5th of April. Here he enjoyed a relaxation from the excesses of the court, and devoted part of his time to study.

From Emfras he went occasionally to Gondar, where he obtained more preferment. The northern frontier of Habbesh is a low, warm, and woody country, peopled by Mahometans. These furnish the king with horses, which are purchased in the dominions of Sennaar; and they besides pay a considerable tribute, arising from the commerce between the two kingdoms. The principal part of this frontier is called Ras-el-feel, which borders on Atbara, and is usually governed by a Mahometan deputy. Ras-el-feel, with many other possessions in the north, was the patrimony of Ayto Confu, eldest son of Ozoro Esther. The Ras had confirmed his right; but his Arab deputy Abd-el Jileel having refused to join the army, Confu had resolved to send his lieutenant Ammonios to displace him; but that officer having been fixed by Michael in the command of the household cavalry under Mr Bruce, could not execute his master's orders. Mr Bruce had been engaged by Negade Ras Mahomet to solicit from Confu the place of deputy at Ras-el-feel for Yasine, who knew the province, and was besides one of his intimate acquaintance. Yasine had sailed with him from Loheia, and been of great service to him, both at sea and in his journey to Gondar. He reflected that this person, who, though a Mahometan, was brave, honest, and friendly, would secure to him the passage to Sen-

naar through Ras-el-feel. He immediately went to intercede for him; but being told that Confu had resigned the command of the district, and that the king had given it to himself, he went to the palace, and, after making the usual acknowledgments, sent off Yasine to dispossess the rebellious deputy.

Mr Bruce had now obtained preferment above his wishes. He was one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, a commander of the household cavalry, and governor of a province, offices which, however difficult it may be to obtain in European courts, are often bestowed in Abyssinia on foreigners, if they possess abilities and a good character. Soon after his last preferment, he suffered an attack of the ague and fever which had afflicted him in Syria. This obliged him to reside regularly at Emfras till the middle of May, when the king's army took the field on an expedition round the lake of Dembea against Fasil. On the arrival of the troops at Emfras, on their way to Agow-midré, Mr Bruce went to the camp, and was graciously received by the king, Ozoro Esther, and the nobility. As he was not prepared to join the army, he promised to follow it with all expedition. The king's forces crossed the Nile at Dara, for which Mr Bruce and his servants set out two days after. In the way they fortunately met with Ayto Adigo, Shum or governor of Karooda, a town not far distant,

a nobleman attached to the queen's party, and an intimate acquaintance of Mr Bruce, who had lived with him at Koscam and Emfras. Adigo and Mr Bruce were soon after joined by Netcho, a relation of the queen, who, with a few disorderly troops from Kuara, his native province, came to assist the Ras. All three were advancing towards Dara. Mr Bruce had sent his servants forward with his household furniture, and whatever else could be dispatched with them, but had accidentally retained his astronomical instruments, in hopes of procuring stronger mules from Adigo. At a short distance from Dara, a party of horse, commanded by two profligate young men called Guebra Medehin and Confu, relations of the old queen, and sons of her kinsman Basha Eusebius, attacked the servants, and, stripping them naked, carried off every thing which they had. The robbers permitted the servants to escape, as they were disappointed at not finding their master. Mr Bruce, Adigo, and Netcho were astonished to see these return in that state, and were alarmed at the news which they brought of a rebellion having broken out in Begemder and Amhara, two powerful provinces, of which the governors were said to have agreed with Fasil to surround and destroy the king and his army. Guebra Medehin and his brother pretended that they were the lieutenants of Gusho and Powussen, these governors; but Adigo and Net-

cho concurred in rejecting this assertion as altogether improbable, on account of their abandoned and dissolute character.

In the event of a conspiracy having been formed against the king, it became exceedingly dangerous to follow the army. But, as the report was uncertain, Mr Bruce determined to proceed; after having sent back to Gondar his astronomical instruments, and such of his servants as were unfit for the journey.

On arriving at Dara, he was kindly received by Negade Ras Mahomet, who enabled him to visit the celebrated cataract of the Nile at Alata, and gave him an escort to the army.

They crossed the Nile on the 22d of May, and proceeded through a country wasted with fire and sword, and deluged with rains, the season of which was now commenced, till they reached Derdera, a place on the N. W. side of the lake of Dembea, where Gusho and Powussen had agreed with Fasil to surround the king's army. This conspiracy was revealed to Michael, and, along with other circumstances, occasioned his return to Gondar. Fasil's spies decoyed the king's troops to pass the Nile at a disadvantageous ford, in which many of the soldiers were lost, though the cavalry, in which Mr Bruce commanded, swam over without any accident.

While Michael and the king marched precipitately

towards Gondar, Fasil appeared in their way; and, after a short skirmish of no importance, made proposals of peace. Though Michael knew the futility of this overture, he was desirous of seeing Fasil assume the form of allegiance, and therefore proclaimed him governor of Agowmidrè, Damot, and the adjoining provinces. Fasil sent several persons of consequence in his service to Gondar, a short time after, to receive his investiture from the king. Mr Bruce insinuated himself into the company of these, and gained their friendship by presents. He likewise strove to obtain the favour of Fasil, by sending some medicines to his favourite general Welleta Yasous. For these acts of respect and kindness, the messengers seemed willing to grant a suitable compensation, which induced Mr Bruce to ask from the king a gift of the village of Geesh, and of the ground which contained the fountains of the Abay, with a promise from Fasil to conduct him to that place in safety, and free of expence. The court laughed at the trifling nature of this request. The king hastened to pronounce the words of the grant, and to make Fasil's servants confirm it by oath, in the name of their master.

These transactions were scarcely finished, when Mr Bruce was obliged to take leave of the king, in an interview which filled his mind with the deepest regret. It was known at Gondar that the governors of Begem-

der and Amhara would attack Michael as soon as the rains should have cut off his retreat to his own province. The only means of saving himself and the king lay in escaping to Tigre before the rivers were impassable. The whole army was therefore immediately in motion. The king used every entreaty to persuade Mr Bruce to go with him, which he evaded by urging the ill health in which he then was; the certain disgrace which would attend him in his own country, if he did not accomplish the sole end of his journey into Abyssinia, and the probability of his Majesty's speedy return to Gondar. He dwelt on the last of these topics with a confidence so much resembling certainty, that the king was greatly moved. He renewed his request with the most pressing anxiety and tenderness; but, finding Mr Bruce inflexible, he desisted, and advised him to live entirely at Koscam with the queen, unless Fasil came to Gondar, and in either case to send him word how he was used.

Before the army left the town, the Ras had proposed to burn it, a dreadful counsel, which he said had been given him by his guardian spirit, the archangel Michael. This design was over-ruled by the other officers; but subordination being at an end in the city, Mr Bruce fled to Koscam, where Ozoro Esther and her attendants took refuge as soon as the army marched.

All the preferment which Mr Bruce had received, fell at the departure of the king. The old queen was the only protector who remained to him; and he was confined almost within the verge of her palace. Gusho and Powussen, the governors of Amhara and Begemder, came to Gondar soon after Michael had left it. Mr Bruce waited on them, to prevent offence, but received no favours, except the restitution of some articles, taken from his servants by Guebra Medehin. Fasil, enraged at the breach of their former engagement, took no share in their measures; on the contrary, he entered into a negociation with Michael to restore the king, while they were engaged in persuading the queen to depose him, and to raise a person of her own family to the throne. They succeeded in recommending that impolitic measure: One Socinios, a young man of no education, and totally destitute of abilities, was proclaimed king at Gondar, in the beginning of August, with the usual ceremonies *.

This person, besides his incapacity, was addicted to the grossest vices. Mr Bruce remained at Koscam, by the queen's advice, and went very seldom to court, as the new king was a professed enemy of *Franks*, in which disposition he was confirmed by Abba Salama †,

* Travels, Vol. v. p. 163.

† Abba Salama was appointed Acab Saat (for an account of

the Acab-saat, who held a very high ecclesiastical dignity in the Abyssinian church. This priest had been restrained from persecuting Mr Bruce by the authority of Ras Michael, but now recommenced his hostility with a violence disgraceful to his sacred office.

About the 10th of August, an incident happened, which gained Mr Bruce additional respect from all parties. One of the assassins, who had been employed by Michael to murder Joas, the late king, was apprehended, and being brought to Gondar, confessed, at his trial, the circumstances of that atrocious action, which had never been made public. The body of Joas was dug up from the pit into which the assassins had thrown it, and exposed to the view of the people; but so deeply had the fear of Michael's resentment impressed every breast, that no person ventured to shew it the least respect. Mr Bruce, having heard of this, went secretly from Koscam, and put the body in a state of preparation for interment, which afterwards took place in a very private manner. This attention shown to a king, deserted by all his servants, procured Mr Bruce the esteem of the whole court. When an account of it was brought to Tigre, even Michael

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which dignity see Vol. III. p. 25.) on the 1st of Hedar A. M. 7261, or October 28, 1768, in place of Benaias. For his character, see Vol. IV. p. 389.

seemed to approve of his behaviour. Tecla-haimanout, the young king, said many kind things on this occasion, perhaps anticipating the day when another ill-fated possessor of the throne of Abyssinia should need the friendly compassion of a stranger.

About the beginning of October, the king's return began to be considered as certain. One of the messengers from Tigre brought special orders to Mr Bruce to join the army on its passage over the Tacazze. He willingly promised to obey; but, in the mean time, resolved to set out on a journey to the sources of the Nile, which he had hopes of accomplishing before the king's approach. The queen remonstrated strongly against this resolution; but, as she did not absolutely prohibit him from following it, he made himself ready to leave Gondar on the 27th of October. Confirmation of Michael's return arrived that very day, with dreadful threats of vengeance against the queen, and those concerned in supporting Socinios.

Next morning Mr Bruce set out on his romantic and dangerous excursion to Saccala, accompanied only by a few servants, and under no protection. His friend Ayto Aylo gave him a guide, with some recommendations to a few people of his acquaintance on the road. Guebra Ehud, Aylo's brother, was in Fasil's camp, who was then said to be marching for Gondar.

Mr Bruce expected, indeed, to meet with Fasil and his army in a few days, though such an army was not a welcome appearance to a friendless stranger. It was chiefly composed of Galla, one of the most savage nations on earth, of which Fasil had brought many hordes, wilder than those that inhabited his own country, over the Nile, and these he was now preparing to dismiss, as he could not command them, in the vicinity of Gondar.

Mr Bruce's company, after leaving the town, proceeded on their way to the S.W. till they reached the lake of Tzana. As they kept a minute journal of their daily progress, and of the bearing of places by compass, perhaps no journey of the kind was ever performed with more attention. They fell in with the van of Fasil's army on the 30th of October, at a place called Bamba; and on arriving at the camp in the evening, were admitted into his tent. The reception which he gave Mr Bruce was, in the highest degree, rude and indecent. He affected to know little of Geesh or Saccala, which, he pretended, lay at a great distance among the wild Galla. On being informed to the contrary, he entered into a long detail of frivolous excuses, accompanied with such degrading reflections on the character of white men, that Mr Bruce, after having reproached him with disrespect for the king's orders, and brutal inhospitality to

strangers, lost his temper, and hurried abruptly out of the tent. About midnight, a relation of Ras Michael, who was a prisoner in the camp, came to inform him, that Fasil was giving orders about escorting him to Geesh. These good news relieved his spirits; he could not sleep on account of the agitation excited by a mixture of joy and fear, but went early next morning to Fasil's tent, where, after some disgraceful treatment from the servants, he gained admittance. Finding Fasil better disposed to serve him, he gave him a valuable present, and received from his hands the investiture of Geesh in the usual way, after which this barbarian assembled his Galla chiefs, and, having addressed them in their own language, administered the oath of brotherhood to them and Yagoube. He then gave Mr Bruce a guide, called Shalaka* Woldo, a person of authority in that country, and a horse, which he desired him not to mount, but to drive before him till he came to Saccala.

Having taken leave of Fasil, they proceeded on their journey. Shalaka Woldo followed with the horse, to which the wild Galla paid more respect than to himself. This man was by birth an Agow, of a sly designing character, a perfect master of the deepest dissimulation, and such a singular compound of rage, oddity, and artifice, that he proved a troublesome guide, but a diverting companion. On arriving at the

* Shalaka signifies captain of a thousand men.

Kelti, a considerable river, which falls into the Nile, on the western side, they met with a detachment of Fasil's Galla, commanded by a celebrated chief called the Jumper, whom Woldo described as the greatest thief and robber in all Maitsha. They learned from him, that they should fall in with a party of 200 men, at a place called Roo, under the command of his brother, who had orders from Fasil to protect them. Their guardian was considered by his countrymen as a prodigy of mildness, and emphatically called the Lamb, because he *sometimes* spared the lives of his prisoners, especially of pregnant women, contrary to the established custom of the Galla. He was dispatched at this time on an affair of the utmost importance. Fasil had received information that Abba Salama, the priest already mentioned, had prevailed on the governor of Kuara, a neighbouring province, and on Woodaje Asahel, chief of the Galla belonging to the late king, to send, each, a party into Maitsha, for the purpose of murdering Mr Bruce. The Lamb was entrusted with the charge of defeating both of these parties, which he did without alarm or disturbance to the travellers, in a manner deserving the highest commendation.

On the 2d of November they met the Lamb and his party, who paid their respects to Fasil's horse, without attending to the rest of the company. He told Woldo, that he was looking for some Agow

horsemen who were in that quarter, and who probably intended to do mischief, but that he was disappointed at not finding them, as it deprived him of an opportunity of shewing Mr Bruce with what dexterity he should have cut them all to pieces.

They next entered the beautiful but wild countries of Aroosi and Goutta. On arriving at the Nile, a ludicrous scene took place between Woldo and the Agows. These miserable people, who are oppressed by the Galla, have a religious veneration for the river. As they made some objections to the liberties which Mr Bruce and his company took with the stream of their watery deity, Woldo, with much solemn buffoonery, made them carry over the baggage of the whole party for nothing, and obliged them to pay him a considerable sum in private, which he roundly affirmed that they had stolen from him. Mr Bruce was not much pleased on discovering the selfish character of his guide, whom he endeavoured, with little success, to gain by promises of reward, and to awe by the fear of responsibility. As he foresaw that Woldo would treat the Agows of Geesh in the same manner with those of Goutto, he disclosed to him his intention of remitting their tribute, and of paying for every thing with which they should supply him.

They continued their journey, southwards, the two following days. The ground rose insensibly as they

advanced, till they reached the church of St Michael, situated on a small hill in the district called Saccala, where Mr Bruce observed that the Nile was dwindled into a scanty brook. The reverie excited by this uncommon object was interrupted by his servants, who came to tell him that they had lost their guide. They found that singular character at a distance behind them, complaining of indisposition, and apparently unable to walk; but Mr Bruce detected this, and several other artifices employed by him, in order to obtain a particular present, which was given as soon as mentioned. Being therefore satisfied, Woldo pointed with his finger to the marsh which contains the springs of the Nile, and retired into the village of Geesh, leaving his master to indulge his enthusiasm.

Mr Bruce ran down to the grassy spot, where he observed two or three fountains of different sizes, some of which were inclosed within a mound of sod, the work of the Agows, who have long worshipped the river, and still continue to pay adoration to these sources. The joy which he felt on contemplating an object unknown to the ancients, and which, as he conceived, had been hitherto seen by no European, was momentary and transient. The dangers and sufferings which he had already undergone, and those which were likely to befal him in the remaining part of this romantic journey, presented themselves to his

imagination, and quite overwhelmed him with despondency and sorrow.

From this insupportable state of mind he sought relief in the ludicrous conversation of Strates, a Greek, who had followed him from Gondar. The original character of this person, which displayed itself in a variety of conversations and actions bordering on buffoonery, had amused him on many occasions, and now contributed to enliven a scene, scarcely susceptible of diversion or cheerfulness. While Mr Bruce was offering up libations at these sacred springs in honour of his friends, Woldo secured him a good reception among the Agows, by publishing the liberal intentions of their new governor. Kefla Abay, a venerable old man, who superintended the village of Geesh under Fasil, and who was the lineal descendant of those priests, who, in the times of paganism, officiated in the worship of the river, readily offered his services, and parted with his own house for Mr Bruce's accommodation. The other Agows were not less obliging. Cattle and provisions of all kinds used in that country, were sent by Fasil's servants; so that Mr Bruce was able to make the five days of his residence at Geesh a continual festival.

On the following days Mr Bruce made all the observations respecting these places, which their novelty and appearance suggested. He was furnished with

many interesting particulars concerning the religion and history of the Agows by Kefla Abay, who, contrary to the rules of the Christian faith, which his nation has been compelled to profess, practised, along with his countrymen, most of the religious ceremonies of their pagan ancestors.

After the kindness which the Agows had received from their new master, it cannot be supposed that they viewed his departure without reluctance. He left Geesh on the 19th November, and returned by the same route, till he came to the house of Welled Amlac, a friend of Ayto Aylo, to whom he was recommended by Aylo and Fasil. Welled Amlac was a Galla, and lived in the style of that barbarous nation. He received the strangers with rude hospitality, which was improved by the kindness of his mother and sisters, and of Fasil's wife, a Galla lady residing in his house. Mr Bruce and his servants were here obliged to overcome their European dislike to raw meat, and solicited to comply with another Galla custom, not less singular, but more exceptionable in point of morality.

Welled Amlac having attended his friends to the passage of the Nile at Delakus, gave them a guide, who conducted them to Gondar*. Mr Bruce sent his servants into the city, but went himself by a private

* Appendix, Note F.

route to Koscam, where he found Ozoro Esther, and his other friends, at court. The king's arrival being daily expected, the old queen and the usurper Socinios were in terror at the thoughts of Michael's vengeance. Mr Bruce learned there from Ayto Confu, that Abba Salama had sent two parties to murder him in Maitsha. The influence of that priest over the usurper then on the throne, made the queen forbid Mr Bruce to go to court, unless he received a particular message from Socinios. He had not resided long at Koscam till a message of that description arrived. The usurper and his companions issued one night from the palace, in a fit of intoxication, to plunder the houses of several persons whom they disliked. Amongst these was that of Mr Bruce, whose servant the king was said to have killed with his own hand, while the rest of his people destroyed or carried away every thing of value which could be found. They were disappointed in their intention of murdering Mr Bruce himself, who fortunately was at Koscam; but the usurper sent for him, and, after loading him with every species of abusive language, ordered him, on pain of death, to give up the horse which he had received from Fasil in his journey to Geesh. But events of a different nature soon delivered him from this tyranny: Fasil having advanced within a few miles of Gondar, proclaimed Teclahaimanout and Michael king and Ras; the usurper's counsellors

joined his enemies; and the old queen fled from Koscam to her relations in Gojam. Socinios having followed her without her consent, was immediately stripped of his ensigns of royalty, and abandoned to his fate *.

Mr Bruce set out from Gondar to meet the king at Mariam Ohha, a place on his way to the capital. By the contrivance of Ayto Confu, who was then marching for the army, Yasine and a detachment of cavalry stopped him on the road, and proclaimed him governor of Ras el feel, lord of Geesh, commander of the Coccob horse, and Baalomaal. On his arrival at the camp, both the king and Ras received him graciously; the king, calling him the arch-rebel who would not accompany him to Tigre, offered him his hand to kiss, with many marks of condescension and favour.

On entering the city, Michael and the king began to inflict that unrelenting vengeance on their enemies,

* In Mr Bruce's MS. journal, the following particulars are mentioned concerning Socinios: "Wednesday, 19th December, the queen came to Koscam. While the king was galloping his horse around her, she said to some of her attendants, 'It is for a boy like that, that I have brought my life and all of you into danger.' The king called for bread and aquavitæ, though it was the time of Lent, and galloping around the queen, said, 'What God intends to do with me I know not, but what men intend to do, I am very well informed, here in Gondar."

which was so congenial to the mind of the former, and so much dreaded by every inhabitant of Gondar. Innumerable executions took place daily for many weeks after their arrival. Abba Salama the Acab Saat, Mr Bruce's enemy, and hundreds more, were hanged in the public square, and their bodies left unburied, to be eaten by the dogs and the hyenas. Blood was spilt like water till the middle of the following month. The courts were filled with carcases, which the natives neither wished nor dared to remove. Mr Bruce sickened at this horrible sight, and complained of it to the young king, who treated the matter with absolute indifference *.

Mr Bruce now began to repent in earnest that he had ever entered this miserable and savage country. He shut himself up at home, and revolved in his mind every method of escaping from Abyssinia by way of Sennaar. He had already taken some steps for that purpose without the king's knowledge. Mahomet Gibberti had carried a letter from him to Metical Aga, in which he requested that minister to write in his favour to the court of Sennaar. The Abyssi-

* The custom of executing malefactors near the palace, and of leaving their bodies unburied *in terrorem*, is common over all Africa. It is more practised in Abyssinia than among the Mahometans.

nian army at this time needed a supply of horses, to procure which Yasine was dispatched to Ras el feel. Mr Bruce prevailed on the king, after much altercation and dispute, to allow him to send letters by this officer to Sennaar, in order to prepare the way for his return to Egypt. Before the king would consent to his departure, he obliged him to promise, that he would not leave him till the end of the war with the rebels; and to swear, that he would return as soon as possible to Abyssinia, with a body of his relations and friends armed in the English manner. This oath, which it was impossible to fulfil, and from which Mr Bruce was relieved by the subsequent death of the king, was the only substitution which that prince would accept for the breach of an ancient national maxim, "Never to allow a stranger to leave Abyssinia *."

The king and Ras took the field in the beginning of May, being forced to march out against the rebels, who assembled from all quarters. Mr Bruce went along with them in his station of commander of the

* It was reported at Sennaar, when Mr Bruce was there, that the king had been deposed and murdered. An Abyssinian told Sir William Jones, in India, about the year 1788, that Tilca Mahout (undoubtedly Teclahaimanout) was the late king, and that Tilca Jerjis, (Tecla Georgis,) his brother, was the present. For an account of George, who is perhaps the reigning king at this day, see *Vol.* v. *pp.* 76. 120. and the rest of the narrative, passim.

household cavalry, which was, however, led on by his deputy Ammonios. He was also engaged with Yasine, who had returned from Ras el feel with a party of horse to join the army, and greatly disheartened him with bad news from Sennaar. Though Fedaile, Shekh of Atbara, governor of part of the country between Ras el feel and Sennaar, had treacherously assured Yasine that a traveller might pass in absolute safety through Atbara, Mr Bruce's servant informed him, that Atbara was infested by the Arabs; and a letter from Hagi Belal, correspondent of Ibrahim Seraff, broker to the English at Jidda, affirmed that Sennaar was entirely in confusion, owing to the dissension between the king and his ministers, Adelan and Abdel Calec.

On the 19th of May 1771, the armies of the king and rebels came to a general action at Serbraxos, a place which the prophets, a species of men very common in Abyssinia, had declared ominous to the king and Ras. The engagement was long, bloody, and indecisive. The victory was thought to be on the royal side, but the loss of a number of men and officers made this battle ruinous to the king's affairs. Mr Bruce had a share in the dangers of the day, and when the officers were rewarded on their return to camp, he received from the king a massy gold chain,

and a splendid suit of clothes, according to an ancient custom prevailing in that country.

The rebel army still increased, and blockaded the camp at Serbraxos, till the king's forces were reduced to the last extremity by famine. On the 25th of May, Gusho of Amhara sent a message to the king to permit Mr Bruce to visit his family, which was ill of a fever. Gusho, having obtained this request, received Mr Bruce at his tent, and communicated to him a variety of particulars respecting the fate of the war, and the means of procuring safety in case of a total defeat. He informed him, that the king's army would disband in a short time; and that the only resources were to keep close to the king, or to pass over to the confederate army. Gusho also told him, that there was in his camp a servant of Metical Aga, who had come from Jidda at the request of the English, to inquire after his welfare. A rumour had prevailed there that Mr Bruce had been murdered, and this person was sent by the direction of Mr Price, to discover the truth or falsehood of the report; and to relieve him from any pecuniary distresses, if he still survived those of a different description.

The ruin of Michael was now inevitable. His enemies allowed him to decamp by night from Serbraxos, and to enter Gondar. As soon as the decampment began, subordination entirely ceased in the royal army.

Mr Bruce, foreseeing that the king's fate was decided, called Yasine his deputy governor of Ras el feel, and told him, that as Ayto Confu * was a prisoner, as he himself was obliged to attend the king, and, as the event of that night's march was uncertain, he did not think that Yasine could do any further service by staying with the army. He therefore advised him to march with his cavalry through Dembea, to his own province, in which he enjoined him to maintain good government, and to lose no opportunities of sending him information concerning the state of Sennaar. Yasine, with tears in his eyes, protested against leaving him to the accidents of that night, and declared, that there was not a man under him who would not die rather than abandon his master to the perfidy of the Christians. He therefore proposed that Mr Bruce should put himself at the head of the Ras el feel cavalry, and escape from Abyssinia. With this advice Mr Bruce could not comply, on account of his engagements, and of the want of his papers, which were all in Gondar.

Mr Bruce, after setting out, strove to keep by the king, but this he found impracticable. They arrived at Gondar about midnight. The Ras went to his

* Ayto Confu, who was superior of Tcherkin, Ras el feel, &c. had been wounded early in the campaign, and afterwards taken prisoner in Gondar.

house, and Mr Bruce followed the king into the palace, where all was desertion and solitude. On the three following days the rebels invested the town, and obliged the king and Michael's army to surrender their arms. The Ras became a prisoner in his own house; and the rebels distributed the great offices of the realm among themselves, without taking any notice of the king *. The household servants had left the palace, where the king remained in poverty and dejection, attended only by Mr Bruce and one or two domestics.

After the fall of Michael, the leaders, having got possession of the king's person, took the oath of allegiance to him, and obtained his authority to their proceedings. The old queen returned to Koscam,

* "Wed. 24. Ras Michael having dressed himself as richly as possible in gold stuff, and having put his house in the best order, expected death with much composure. Gusho only was admitted that day, and questioned him about the king's murder, which he denied. On Thursday 25. Nebrit Tecla and his son, Shalaka Becro and his son Hannes, who was Wechne Azaje, were put to death at Dippabye. Their heads were all fixed on the tree, and * * * At three in the evening that day, Wundy Wusen carried the Ras prisoner to the camp, after having plundered his house, and stripped him naked, leaving only a common cloth about him. All this was done without consent of the king, who remained in his house under guard of Kasmati Ayabdor, uncertain what was to be done with him" This account, from Mr. Bruce's journal, is much more circumstantial than the printed narrative, and shews the very dangerous situation of the king, and of Mr Bruce who attended him.

pal village, where the Shekh received his former master with his usual kindness and fidelity. He resided nearly two months with Yasine, in a bad state of health, partly owing to former disease, and partly to the climate of Ras-el-Feel, one of the most unhealthy in the world. It is indeed probable that his life must have terminated there, had it not been for the use of a medicinal plant, which was pointed out to him by an Arab. His next stage in the way to Sennaar was Teawa, the residence of Fedaile, Shekh of Atbara, who had promised to forward him on his journey with safety and expedition. Mr Bruce had already written to Metical Aga, at Mecca, to send a letter to some confidential person at Sennaar, for the purpose of procuring a guide from the king; the same request had been made by Yasine, and it was expected that the king of Sennaar's servant would be at Teawa before Mr Bruce arrived at that place. But as the Shekh of Atbara was well known to be a man of the worst character, Yasine, and the Shekh of the Nile Arabs agreed to send a person to Teawa with Mr Bruce, who should stay without the town till he had learned the issue of Fedaile's promises.

Mr Bruce left Ras-el-Feel on the 17th of March, and came to Teawa on the 23d. Fedaile received him with affected honour, though nothing could be baser than his real intentions. He had told the Shekh of

Beyla, the next stage on the way to Sennaar, that Yagoube had taken a different route, and was not to be expected at Teawa. The Shekh of Beyla, therefore, desisted from inquiring further about Mr Bruce, whom Fedaile detained by a pretence of not having camels to give him for his journey; and at last by an absolute refusal to allow him to pass, if he did not pay him a considerable sum of money. This being refused, Fedaile sent a person to murder him. The attempt was unsuccessful, but not more cowardly than that of the Shekh himself, who drew his sword on the stranger, and was only prevented from killing him by the appearance of a large pistol which Mr Bruce drew from beneath his cloak. After having been detained above three weeks by this assassin, Mr Bruce and his party were relieved from their dangerous situation by the Shekh of Beyla, who had detected Fedaile's falsehood, and procured for them guides from Sennaar. The Shekh of Beyla sent a Moullah, a person of great reputation, to Teawa to urge their departure. In his presence Fedaile was convicted of his guilty and faithless conduct, and frightened with an account of the correspondence which Mr Bruce had kept up with Yasine. That chief having broken the peace between Habbesh and Sennaar, had threatened to burn Teawa, in revenge for the Shekh's behaviour to his master. The terrors arising from an eclipse of the moon, which Mr Bruce had predicted,

hastened also the preparations for their journey, which they resumed on the 18th of April.

Mr Bruce was received in a most friendly manner by Mahomet, Shekh of Beyla, to whom he had formerly sent medicines, and who, in every respect, was the reverse of the Shekh of Atbara. Having staid a few days at that place, he prosecuted his journey, and advanced with much difficulty over the rugged ground near the rivers Rahad and Dender. He had two guides, one of whom was the king of Sennaar's servant, in league with Fedaile, and therefore deserving no confidence; the other belonged to Shekh Adelan, the prime minister of Sennaar, who at that time had the king entirely in his power. After passing the Dender, they were overtaken by a storm, and obliged to lodge all night (April 24.) in a village of Pagan Negroes *, whom the government of Sennaar had brought from the mountains near the White River, and placed in that district to oppose the Arabs. These negroes, though soldiers, received Mr Bruce and his weary companions with great kindness, dried their clothes, and supplied them with huts and provisions. Some of the Nuba watched their camels and baggage all night, and sung alternate songs in notes full of pleasant melody. Mr Bruce listened to these till he fell asleep involuntarily, and with regret, ha-

* Called Nuba.

ving seldom passed a more comfortable night on a journey *.

On arriving at Basboch, the place where it is usual to pass the Nile, in coming from Atbara to Sennaar, Mr Bruce was detained, till leave to enter the town was procured from Adelan the prime minister. Adelan was encamped at some distance from Sennaar, but he had received complete information of the behaviour of the Shekh of Atbara, and had resolved to treat Mr Bruce in a manner very different from that which he knew would be agreeable to the king. He therefore ordered his servants to accommodate the stranger with one of his own houses, and desired him to repose himself before he sought an audience at the palace. Mr Bruce was, however, sent for by the king next day after his arrival, and formally introduced to him. Ismael he found to be a weak, malicious, and ignorant prince, on bad terms with his ministers, who despised his character, and kept him without money or forces. On the 8th of May he went to Adelan's camp, some miles out of the city, where he had a favourable audience of the true sovereign of Sennaar, the king being only such in title.

* The African blacks have a very sweet native music, of which the Abyssinians and Arabs, particularly the former, are destitute.

The Sheikh was advanced in years, of a noble and commanding appearance, of a generous and open character. Mr Bruce having given him a small present, and his letters of recommendation from Ali Bey, the Sheriffe of Mecca, and the king of Abyssinia, claimed his protection, which he granted with great readiness. Adelan spoke contemptuously of the king, and advised Mr Bruce to defend himself, if any attack were made on him at Sennaar, requesting him also to convey immediate intelligence of his situation to the camp.

On returning to the town, Mr Bruce received a visit from Hagi Belal, a merchant to whom he had been recommended by Ibrahim, broker to the English at Jidda. He expected to obtain from Belal whatever money he should need at Sennaar, and in his journey to Egypt; but that perfidious man not only refused to give him any assistance, but conspired with the king to murder him. The reception which he met with in his visits at the palace, became every day more cold and suspicious. The king pretended that he was unable to forward him on his journey; and access could not be readily had to the minister, who was encamped at a distance, and frequently changing his place. In this dangerous situation Mr Bruce gained, by his medical assistance, the friendship of Ahmed, the governor of the household *, and a relation

* Sid el Coom.

of the royal family, whose office it was, by the constitution of that barbarous monarchy, to murder his sovereign, when the welfare of the state required it. The violence of the king was restrained by this man, though Ismail adopted various methods in secret to accomplish his designs. He instigated his servants to insult Mr Bruce; and towards the end of his stay at Sennaar, dispatched a party to attack him in Adelan's house, which they had not courage to carry into effect.

As his situation became daily more precarious, Mr Bruce, after a delay of four months, redoubled every effort to escape from this country of perfidy and bloodshed. Hagi Belal, overawed by Ahmed, furnished him with some money; but the scanty supplies that he had hitherto received, had not been sufficient to defray his expences, to discharge which, he was obliged to part with the honorary gold chain given him by the king of Abyssinia. Camels and provisions being at last procured, he and his companions stole out of Sennaar, on pretence of going to Adelan's camp*. Instead of visiting the minister, they directed their course northward, in the way of Herbagi, the residence of Wed Ageeb, hereditary sovereign of the Arabs, in the dominions of Sennaar, from whom they expected to receive a passport through the rest of Atbara. They reached Herbagi on the 16th of Septem-

* Appendix, note G.

ber. Wed Ageeb received Mr Bruce with kindness, and gave him a letter to his sister, who, along with her son, governed the country around Chandi, a town situated on the banks of the Nile, in the lower part of Nubia. This prince was a friend of Shekh Adelan, and therefore spoke disrespectfully of the king of Sennaar. He informed Mr Bruce, that Yasine had burnt Teawa; and obliged Fedaile to fly from Atbara, the causes of which hostility were well known to the traveller, though he chose to conceal them.

On the fourth day after they had left Herbagi, Mr Bruce's company arrived at the ferry over the Nile, or Bahar Azergue, which lies opposite to a place called Halifoon. In the evening of the same day, they reached Halfaia, a considerable town, situated in N. L. 15° 45′, very near the limit of the tropical rains, and about nine miles north of the junction of the Bahar el Azergue and Bahar el Abiad. These are the principal rivers which form the Egyptian Nile, though each of them receives in its course many considerable streams. They left Halfaia, after a residence of six days, on the 29th of September; and on the 4th of the following month came to Chendi, the chief town of the Jahaleen Arabs, governed by Wed Ageeb's sister. The tribes which inhabit this barren country are descended from some of the Beni Koreish, kindred of Mahomet, who emigrated from Arabia, soon after the

establishment of Islamism. The queen of Chendi accommodated Mr Bruce with necessaries, and took a particular interest in his friendless situation. Chendi, though more than sixty miles to the south of Gooz, where the Tacazze joins the Nile, is situated on the border of an extensive sandy desert, which reaches as far as Syene. To the dangers of travelling above 500 miles in a continual wilderness, which afforded little water, and no supply of provisions of any kind, was added the chance of meeting with the Bishareen Arabs, who possess these burning sands, and murder every stranger whom they can find. Mr Bruce, while at Sennaar, had intended to join a caravan, going by this route to Egypt, under the command of one Mahomet Towash, who had been raising a contribution in Soudan for the holy sepulchre, and might have expected protection from the Arabs on account of his sacred character; but in order to leave Mr Bruce destitute of assistance, the king of Sennaar had advised that person to set out before him, and to take all the guides along with his caravan. He accordingly left none behind him, who knew the desert, except one called Idris, who fortunately was detained at Chendi for debt. The rest had accompanied him, with a readiness which proved fatal to him and his companions. As soon as they approached the borders of Egypt, some of the guides carried information to the Bisha-

reen, who attacked the Aga and his followers, and murdered them all to the number of ninety persons.

Having relieved Idris from his arrest, and made every preparation in their power for their dreary journey, Mr Bruce and his servants set out from Chendi; and, after travelling four days, crossed the Tacazze, the last great river that falls into the Nile. As they were now about to enter the desert, they laid in a stock of water and provisions at Gooz, a village near the ferry; and having agreed to a few regulations, and repeated the prayer of peace, committed themselves to the wilderness. They amounted to thirteen or fourteen persons, only eight of whom were effective, and well armed. They left Gooz on the 9th of November; and in two days after lost sight of the Nile, which turns, soon after its junction with the Tacazze, to the west. The desert then opened all around, covered with rocks and burning sands, the latter of which were seen, at times, raised in the air to a great height, and being illuminated by the rays of the sun, appeared like pillars of fire. The heat and thirst excited by the sun and glowing atmosphere, were nothing, compared with the effects of the simoom, or poisonous wind, which is produced in these deserts, and suffocates every creature who has not the address to avoid it. On the sixth day after leaving Gooz,

* The first chapter of the Koran, used as a form of prayer.

Mr Bruce and his party suffered exceedingly from a blast of this wind, near a well called Chiggre, in lat. 20° 58′ 30″ N.

From Chiggre they continued their journey through numberless difficulties, till they came to Terfowey, a place which, though barren in an uncommon degree, possesses some wood, and springs of water. On the night of the 19th of November, a Bishareen Arab and two women, who were passing by Terfowey, were seized by them in the act of stealing their camels, with an intention of carrying them off to his tribe. If the Arab had succeeded in this attempt, Mr Bruce and his companions must have died of hunger at the well. They therefore threatened him with instant death, if he did not discover his accomplices, the place where his tribe was encamped, and what reception they had to expect on meeting with it. The Bishareen informed them of the miserable end of Mahomet Towash, at which he had been present, and gave an account of the movements of the tribe, which corresponded, for the most part, with the declarations of the women. Mr Bruce therefore interceded for his life, and proposed to carry him prisoner into Egypt, having first deprived the women of the means of giving intelligence to their relations. This being performed, they set out from Terfowey. The simoom attacked them soon after their departure, and one of their camels

died of hunger and fatigue. As a last resource, in case of famine, they dried and preserved slices of the flesh. On the second day after they had left Terfowey, they were again involved in the purple haze of the poisonous wind. Silence, and a desperate indifference about life, were the immediate effects of this occurrence; their camels being quite exhausted, Mr Bruce himself, by far the most courageous of the company in every part of the journey, began to despair, and to expect, with a degree of resignation, a sandy grave. Their bread was nearly done, and their water, though occasionally supplied from wells, was brackish. In this distressful condition, they held out four days longer, in the course of which, they found the dead bodies of Mahomet Towash and his followers scattered in the desert, and met with a party of Ababde Arabs, who gave them some information of their distance from Egypt. On the 26th of November, they reached Saffieha, a place, as they were afterwards informed, about 40 miles from Syene. Their camels, overcome with hunger and fatigue, and chilled with the excessive cold of that night, could advance no further. As the distance from Syene was uncertain, and their strength so far reduced as to be scarcely sufficient for travelling, much less for carrying water and provisions, death appeared inevitable. The loss of all his drawings, journals, and indeed of every memorandum

of his travels, was an affliction of such a kind as excludes the possibility of describing Mr Bruce's feelings in these moments of complicated distress. Having loaded themselves with the scanty remains of their black bread and impure water, most of which they were obliged to take from the stomach of their camels, they made a last effort to save their lives. In the evening of the second day after leaving Saffieha, Mr Bruce, having parted from his company, for the purpose of viewing the ground to the westward of a small eminence, then in sight, heard the sound of the Nile, and judged that they were near it, by the flight of the river birds. On returning to his companions, he communicated to them this discovery, which was confirmed by the guide, and instantly followed by loud acclamations of joy. They arrived early in the forenoon of the following day at a grove of palm trees to the north of Syene.

The janisary Ismael went into the town, and informed the Aga of their arrival, and distress in the desert. The other servants, judging by their own feelings that their master needed repose, retired together, and left him alone for that purpose. Mr Bruce fell into a profound sleep under the shade of a palm tree, from which he was awakened by a message from the Aga. The pain, fatigue, and misfortunes which he had undergone in the desert, had reduced his mind to a state of care-

less insensibility, which rendered him indifferent about his past sufferings or present deliverance; and his feet were so disabled by the journey, that he could not stand nor walk for some time after. The Aga received him with compassion and kindness, and supplied him with money and necessaries. After having rested a few days, he obtained from that officer a party, which went along with him to Saffieha, where, to his unspeakable satisfaction, he found his baggage untouched and entire.

He left Syene on the 11th of December, 1772, and arrived at Cairo, on the 10th of January following. He and his servants took up their lodging in the convent of St George near the town, till he could send information of his arrival to his correspondents, the French merchants. But he was not permitted to remain long in that retreat. Mahomet Bey Aboudahab, who had usurped the throne of Ali Bey, his father-in-law, being informed by Ishmael of Mr Bruce's arrival from Habbesh, sent a party of soldiers to the convent, who dragged him, on the very night of his arrival, to the palace. It was not the Bey's intention to treat him in a rude manner; but the soldiers, supposing by his mean dress and neglected appearance, that he was a person of little consequence, hurried him along as if he had been a felon. The Bey received him very graciously, and sympathised with him

in the distresses that he had undergone in passing the desert, the effects of which, indeed, were so painful as to oblige Mr Bruce to kneel all the time of audience. After dismissing him, the Bey, by a slave, offered him a present of money, which he did not accept, and this refusal, so extraordinary from a person of his appearance, made the servant conduct him back into the presence of his master. In this second interview Mr Bruce informed the Bey of his rank and situation in life, and of the reasons which had induced him not to accept the present. The Bey, highly satisfied with these, asked with great complacency, what he should do for him. The moment was favourable for such a petition as Mr Bruce immediately preferred. While residing at Jidda, he had observed the enormous extortion of the sheriffe of Mecca, which had nearly ruined the English East India trade in that place; and as he knew that the company would willingly change that station, if a better could be procured, he asked from the Bey permission for the English East India ships to come to the port of Suez, at the bottom of the Arabian gulf. The Bey readily granted this request, and afterwards settled with him the articles of the agreement. The firmân, or government order ratifying the permission, was immediately written, and dispatched by Mr Bruce to India, along with a letter, informing the gentlemen concerned in the trade of the

Red Sea, how to proceed in consequence of this transaction.

At the time when Mr Bruce obtained the order from the Bey, the latter was preparing for an expedition against his father-in-law, who was still in Syria with a small army. He urged the traveller to go with him to the camp, which Mr Bruce declined. On the contrary, being sufficiently aware of the disorder which always accompanies a war of the kind in that barbarous country, he prepared to leave Cairo as soon as possible. He arrived at Alexandria in the beginning of March, and thence sailed for Marseilles in a vessel belonging to that city. During the voyage, which lasted about three weeks, he was in very ill health, owing to the shock which his constitution had undergone in the desert, and to the disease called the Guinea-worm, which totally disabled him for walking, and endangered his life. The weather was exceedingly stormy; they were on the point of being shipwrecked on the coast of Africa; and the state of the vessel, along with the superstition of the crew, had nearly induced them to throw Mr Bruce's baggage overboard, which would have deprived him, almost on the shores of his own country, of the fruits of ten years labour and suffering.

SECTION IV.

MR BRUCE was received at Marseilles by his friends and the literary people of that city, with enthusiasm. The Comte de Buffon, M. Guys, and many others, who had taken a particular interest in his travels, came to congratulate him on his return, and to hear from him a detail of his adventures and discoveries. With the first of these gentlemen he contracted an intimate friendship. The Comte, who was then publishing his great work on natural history, took an early opportunity of announcing to the world the information which he had received in that science from Mr Bruce himself, and from a perusal of his numerous and beautiful drawings *.

* Vide advertisement to the third volume of M. de Buffon's History of Birds. The testimony of that illustrious naturalist is the more valuable that it was given after Mr Bruce had freely communicated to his friend an account of the several articles, which he seldom did to any person.

After having resided in the south of France till his health was in some measure restored, he set out for Paris, in company with the Comte de Buffon. The reception which he met with in that metropolis was exceedingly flattering *. His travels became a subject of general conversation; his company was courted every where, and by persons of the first distinction in point of learning and quality. As an acknowledgement of the favours which he had received from the French nation in the course of his travels, he presented a part of the seeds of rare plants which he had collected in Abyssinia to the king's garden at Paris, and a copy of the prophecies of Enoch, a literary curiosity of considerable value, to the Royal Library †.

His health being still unconfirmed, he set out from Paris about the end of July, for Italy. On reaching Bologna, he was welcomed by his friend the Marquis di Ranuzzi, and spent about two months at the baths of Poretta ‡. His health was completely established

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* Appendix, note H.

† Letters of Lemonier from Versailles, September 3. 1773, and from Choisi, June 11, 1774, mentioning the progress of the plants which had come up; and the drawings of those sent to Mr Bruce in Scotland. Letter of Bignon on receipt of the MS. from l' hotel de la Biblioth. du Roi, September 3. 1773.

‡ Letters of P. Balugani, September 13. 1773. of Martinelli, Bol. Oct. 4. 1773.

during his residence at Bologna; where he first reposed from the fatigues of travel, and found leisure to finish such of his drawings of architecture and natural history as had not been completed in Africa.

From Bologna he went to Rome, much against the advice of his friends *, who knew that the causes of his excursion to that city arose from circumstances † unworthy of his notice, and likely in the end to prove dangerous to himself. Fortunately, no disagreeable consequences took place. On the contrary, his reception there was perhaps more flattering to a mind like his, which revered ancestry and noble descent, than any which he elsewhere experienced. That city was the last retreat of some families which had formerly held a high rank in his native country, and though the political causes which had brought them so low never influenced any part of his opinions, he was not insensible to the pleasure with which they enjoyed his fame. He received particular marks of attention from many of the Roman nobility, and had, it is believed, an audience of Pope Clement XIV, the celebrated Ganganelli, who presented him with a series of gold

* Letter from Consul Mann, Florence, November 16. 1773, and from Birbeck at Marseilles and others, August 1773.

† Letters to and from Accoramboni, Rome, November 1773.

medals relating to several transactions of his pontificate ‡.

Mr Bruce returned to France in spring 1774, where he resided till June following. He left Paris about the middle of that month, and arrived soon after in England, from which he had been absent twelve years *. The public, as might have been expected, was impatient to hear his adventures; and every person of distinction or learning, who had any curiosity to know the wonders of foreign countries, sought his acquaintance. Mr Bruce was sensible, that the greater part of mankind estimates the characters of eminent men extravagantly high, or injuriously low, without much regard to their real merits, and therefore encouraged the favourable partiality of the moment. He shewed his numerous and beautiful drawings, which obtained particular praise; and his collection of Ethiopic manuscripts, a sufficient proof, to *such* as could read them, of his travels in Abyssinia. Soon after his arrival in London he was introduced at court, and graciously received by his Majesty, who was pleased to honour with his royal approbation Mr Bruce's labours

‡ Letters from his friends at Bologna, which allude to those particulars, December 4, 1773; and the medals at Kinnaird.

* Letters of congratulation from his friends, June and July, 1774.

in the cause of discovery, and to accept those drawings of Baalbec, Palmyra, and the African cities, which the traveller had promised to make for his collection‡.

After a residence of some months in London, he prepared to visit Scotland. The curiosity of the public respecting his travels continued to operate nearly to the same extent as formerly; but several persons, who were envious of his fame, ignorant of his merits, or offended at the little deference which he paid to their learning, began to depreciate his character, and to propagate stories injurious to his reputation. Mr Bruce's manner of conversing in private companies, was open, free, and animated. On occasions when he thought proper to amuse his friends with an account of his adventures, he generally fixed upon such of them as differed most from common occurrences. A description of the savage manners of the Galla, of the bloody feasts of the Abyssinians, of the negro court of Sennaar, or even of his own artifices to astonish and awe barbarians, was calculated to amuse men of sense and judgment, who knew something of the variety of human nature; but persons of a different character judged it incredible, because it

‡ Mr Bruce received a gratuity for these drawings. Letter from Whitshed Keene, esq. to Mr B. London, Dec. 4. 1775

was extraordinary. Most of the obloquy, however, which Mr Bruce experienced, was owing to envy. He had lived too long in a state of independence to become the humble admirer of any literary man; and had seen too much to be instructed by those dictators who presided in the different societies which, at that time, assumed the direction of learning and science. Some of his enemies, not contented with questioning his veracity in particular instances, asserted that he had never been in Abyssinia; and this palpable falsehood, which any scholar might have detected by looking at Mr Bruce's Ethiopic manuscripts, was afterwards believed by many, on the authority of Mr Wortley Montague, and the Baron de Tott*.

Mr Bruce left London in the beginning of autumn on his way to Scotland. He was received with much joy and attention at Edinburgh, and in the country. During the four last years of his travels, no certain information had been received concerning him. A report of his death had been circulated, which was neither contradicted nor confirmed till he arrived at Marseilles.

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* Letters of Mr Montague, published in the European Museum for 1792, and the Baron de Tott's Travels. The story of Mr Bruce's having gone into Armenia, was founded on a passage in one of his letters to Sir R. Strange. Mr Bruce deposited his Abyssinian MSS. for some time in the British Museum, as appears by a letter from Sir Joseph Banks, July 21. 1788; but it would seem that nobody inspected them.

As he now intended to settle in his native country, he rebuilt his house, and began to regulate the affairs of his estate, which had gone into disorder during his absence. A number of law suits, arising from various circumstances, engrossed his attention, and, along with other avocations, totally prevented, for a long time, his application to literature.

On the 20th of May, 1776, he married Mary Dundas, daughter of Thomas Dundas of Fingask, Esq. by Lady Janet, daughter of the sixth Earl of Lauderdale; an amiable and accomplished woman, whose memory is still revered in that part of the country *. The public expected, that, after having settled at home, he would immediately proceed to compose and publish an account of his travels; but this he was obliged to defer, for the reasons already mentioned.

For some time after his return to Scotland, he kept up a correspondence with his friends in France. At the request of one of these†, he amused himself with translating the prophecies of Enoch from the Abyssinian; but the subject displeased him, and he soon abandoned it. After his marriage, he dropped his French correspondence, and had little intercourse with any literary men whatsoever, except with such as visited him

* Mrs Bruce has been dead twenty years.

† M. Journu de Montagny, with whom Mr Bruce kept up a correspondence between 1774 and 1776.

in the country. In the shooting season he generally spent some time at a place called Ardwhillery, near Callender in Menteith, in the Highlands of Scotland. It is situated on the road to Fort William, at a short distance from Benledi, one of the highest mountains in the kingdom, on the banks of Lochlubnaig *, which resembles in its most remarkable feature the lake of Dembea. The stream of the river, which forms the Teith, is distinctly visible in its passage through Lochlubnaig. The Teith itself, a beautiful and romantic river, is the chief branch of the Forth; but the same cause, which probably induces the Arabs to consider the Bahar-el-abiad as only accessory to the Abyssinian river, has led the people in that part of Scotland to confer the name of Forth on a much inferior stream. Mr Bruce, however, had no occasion to argue from this coincidence; perhaps it never occurred to his mind. He was engaged, during his residence at Ardwhillery, in more attractive and peaceful pursuits than those of controversy. Happy in his family, and satisfied that he had done, or at least suffered, as much as any man then alive, in order to instruct and gratify the public, he willingly reposed between the toils of

* Vide a description of Ardwhillery, and the romantic scenery around it, in Robertson's account of the parish of Callender in Menteith, vol. xi. of Sir J. Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland. Loch-nub-naig signifies the lake of the winding stream.

travelling, and the vexations of appearing before the public as a candidate for literary fame.

He accordingly made a slow progress in transcribing or arranging his journals for nearly twelve years after his return. It is uncertain, indeed, whether he would not have suffered them to remain at last unpublished, if a domestic misfortune had not obliged him to seek the consolation of study. Mrs Bruce's health, which had always been delicate, began to decline rapidly, in the winter of 1784. She had been long afflicted with a lingering disease, which, in the spring of the year 1785, brought her, in very early life, to the grave *.

This melancholy event deprived Mr Bruce of his principal source of happiness, and left him in solitude. His friends endeavoured to sooth his affliction, by recalling his mind to the actions of the former part of his life, and by contrasting his courage and fortitude in the performance of these with his present dejection. The Hon. Daines Barrington, in particular, urged him to undertake a task, to which he was called by the duty which he owed to himself, and by the sincerest wishes of all who knew him, or who felt an

* Mr Bruce had three children by this lady, the eldest of whom, called Robert, died when an infant. The other two are the present Mr Bruce of Kinnaird, and the wife of John Jardine, Esq. advocate.

interest in African discovery. Flattered by their encouragement, and willing to escape from painful recollections, he began to enlarge the history of his different routes, and to translate the annals of Abyssinia from the original MSS. The narrative part of the travels was first written; the reflections on the Indian trade, on the ancient history of Abyssinia, and on other subjects, were added afterwards. Part of the first sketches were written with his own hand, and part dictated to his clerk, which last was his usual method of composing *.

Mr Bruce, when once engaged in any undertaking, was eager and indefatigable. Most of the work was finished before 1788, and submitted to the inspection of the Hon. Daines Barrington, and some other friends, alike eminent for their literary talents and their high station in life †. It was printed at Edin-

* A great part of the dissertations on the Indian trade, and the early history of Atbara, is found in the journals, and appears to have been written at Sennaar. His mind seems to have been uncommonly active during his dangerous residence at that place. Part of the original MSS. of the Travels, &c. is still preserved in three quarto volumes, which were written or dictated at leisure hours between 1775 and 1784. The narrative in these sketches was afterwards much enlarged, corrected, and abridged, in a number of places.

† Letters of the Hon. Daines Barrington, the Bishop of Carlisle, and others, to Mr Bruce, April 21. Dec. 7. &c. 1788.

burgh, and thence transmitted to London, where it was published by the Robinsons in 1790, in five volumes quarto, under the title of "Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773."

The reception which these Travels met with from the public at large, was exceedingly flattering. The book was universally read, and commended by persons of the first literary reputation, for the large fund of instruction and amusement which it contained *. The only attacks made on the work, or rather on the character of its author, appeared in the anonymous periodical publications of the day, some of which, from mercenary, and others from malicious, motives, in their respective writers, were filled with abuse and misrepresentation. It was translated into French by a writer of the name of Castera, in the same year in which it was published in London, and had a rapid circulation on the continent †.

In attempting to estimate the merits and defects of a work so extensive and multifarious, it is necessary to consider the end in view when it was composed. Books

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* Appendix, Note I.

† The Travels were translated into German, by J. J. Volkmann, with a preface and notes, by J. Fr. Blumenbach. Leipsic, 1790. An *epitome* of the work was published in 1791, with some learned, but not liberal observations on particular parts of it.

of travels are written in order to amuse as well as to instruct; but it is no uncommon thing for literary men to appreciate the value of them solely by the quantity of information which they afford. Yet long scientific details, however new and valuable, cannot be popular; and those books of travels, which abound in them, may be praised by a multitude, but are perused only by a small number of readers.

Had Mr Bruce intended to write merely for the use of the geographer, politician, and natural philosopher, he would have compressed his narrative into a much smaller size, and have divested his observations of every extraneous circumstance. But he wrote to instruct and amuse the general reader; and this is a sufficient reason for his devoting so considerable a portion of his book to the history of his own adventures, and to that of the persons with whom he was connected in the course of his travels.

His work therefore is to be considered as an amusing and instructive narrative of various journies in foreign countries, interspersed with observations on man and nature, not written by a scientific, but by an able, accomplished, and intelligent traveller. He relates his own actions with the same freedom with which he describes those of others, because they formed a part of his subject, and were interesting enough to merit remembrance.

The Introduction to his Travels contains the most recent account of the interior of Barbary; and it must be regretted, that the encouragement of the public did not enable him to publish his excellent drawings, along with a fuller description of the ruins found in that country. The cursory narrative which he writes of his voyage up the Nile, and of his journey to Cosseir, is replete with useful and curious information. He was among the first who endeavoured to correct and settle the hydrography of the Red Sea; and though later surveys have ascertained it with greater precision, his observations are valuable and numerous *. On entering Abyssinia, he exhibits to the view of the reader an empire nearly unknown, exhibiting modes of religion, manners, and government, widely different from those of all European nations. Without some previous knowledge of the language and history of that country, the reader becomes less able to judge of his accuracy; but his abilities in describing characters,

* Among Mr Bruce's papers are charts and drawings of the harbours of Mocha, of the road of Gedan, ports of Rabac, Confoda, Sibt, Masuah, road of Shekh Omar, Nohoude P., Ras Heli, Jibel Zeeran, Jibbel Suryne, of the isles Abeled, rock Cotumbal, Jibel Wusan, Dahaban, Mersa Berk, mountain opposite the isle of Wudan, mountains above Sebt, Jibel Foran, isle of Dureghi, road of Goofs, &c. made by Luigi Balugani. The chart of Mocha seems to be a copy.

and in delineating human nature, strike the most ordinary mind, and greatly excel those of any other traveller. No stronger proofs of this assertion need be mentioned than the intimate acquaintance which, in perusing his narrative, we form with all his principal characters, and the regret with which, on arriving at the conclusion of the account, we leave a country, to which the mind has acquired a kind of local attachment.

The journals of his routes in Abyssinia and Nubia were written with the most minute attention, and form a valuable accession to geographical science. The Jesuits had sketched a map of these countries, but they had determined scientifically the position of none of the places. Mr Bruce has ascertained the latitude and longitude of a greater number of places in Africa than any other traveller, and deserves particular imitation in this respect.

We are further indebted to him for a recent and copious description of the various tribes which inhabit the eastern coast of that continent, from the 11° to the 24th degree of N. latitude; in short, for an accurate view of the moral and natural phenomena of a most extensive and varied tract of country, nearly inaccessible to discovery, and almost unknown to Europeans. His account of the kingdom of Sennaar is copious and unique; and his journey through the desert of Nubia, on the eastern side of the Nile, is in the highest degree interesting.

In collecting into one view the principal merits of his work, it may be thought an omission, that no notice has been taken of his discovery of the sources of the Nile. The springs of the Abay, which he visited, were generally reputed to be the chief source of the Egyptian river when he left Europe. The Abay itself is unquestionably one of the principal branches of the Nile, and seems to be considered, by the natives of Habbesh and Atbara, as the higher part of the great river. But the claim of the Abay to this last honour is contested, as well as the discovery of its sources by Mr Bruce. Admitting both to be well-founded, this discovery, whatever ideas of imaginary glory it may have excited, or whatever influence these may have had in promoting his journey, seems, when considered by itself, to be of very little importance.

The defects of this work, which bear a small proportion to its merits, arise from circumstances common to most performances of the kind, a love of theory and system, a desire to please the reader, and, in the greater number of particular instances, from inattention.

In the course of his voyages on the Red Sea, Mr Bruce had observed many singular phœnomena, which, along with the information given by ancient writers, led his mind to reflect on the first establishment of the Indian trade, and the navigation of the Arabian gulf in the most remote ages. Imagining that the birth-

place of ancient civilization lay in Ethiopia, that is, in the country between Azab or Adel, and Syene, he entered into a theoretical history of the establishment of trade and commerce and the invention of the arts and sciences, particularly of architecture, astronomy, and writing, by the Shepherds of Azab and Meroe, and by their kindred, the Cushites, who afterwards peopled Egypt. He has executed this undertaking with much learning and ingenuity, particularly that part of it which relates to the triennial voyages of the Jews and Phœnicians to Tarshish. But it is easy to see that his theory, however applicable in a few instances, is liable to powerful objections. He seems to take it for granted, that the Shepherds and Cushites, names of indefinite signification, occupied the whole extent of country already mentioned, without dissention or difference, in the remotest times, and that their posterity inhabits Abyssinia and Atbara at this day. To simplify ancient history in this manner, by leaving out of account many of the scattered facts which are preserved concerning these nations in their ancient, as well as what is known of them in their modern state, is a dangerous experiment, apt to deceive both the author and his readers. His account of the building of Axum, Meroe, and Thebes, and of the origin of writing, is therefore unsatisfactory; and when he descends to the history of the modern Abyssinians, who have no authentic annals till a late period, he gives too much

credit to their national fables, which deduce the line of their kings from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and pretend to derive their government, laws, and institutions from the Jews. The prevalence of the Jewish religion in Habbesh, before the æra of Christianity, has also inclined him to suppose, that the Falasha, the Agows, and the people of Amhara and Gafat, came originally from Palestine, though most of their languages have not the slightest affinity to the Hebrew.

The third and fourth books of the Travels, containing the history of Abyssinia, from the year 1298, to the time of his arrival in the country, along with the preceding one, already mentioned, on the Indian trade, form a long episode, which has been considered by many readers as uninteresting, and an obstruction to the narrative.

Although it be impossible to give any national history, much less that of a barbarous country, the attractions of personal adventure, Mr Bruce has exerted himself with considerable success to enliven this digression, into which he was led by particular circumstances. He possessed a large collection of original MSS. on Abyssinian history. The information contained in these was entirely new; and, as he was the first who brought it into Europe, he naturally judged himself warranted to give an authentic history of Abyssinia in the course of his work, not in the dry form of a literal translation, but interspersed with his own re-

flections and observations. He placed it before the narrative of his Abyssinian journey, in order to serve as a key to the characters and events of his own time. Though it interrupts the story of his adventures, and must be, upon the whole, less interesting, it contains much useful and original information, and cannot be passed over without throwing an obscurity upon the rest of the work.

Another source of defect is owing to a common desire to render his work agreeable and popular. This is remarkable in the rapidity with which he hurries on his narrative. He seizes our whole attention, he delights us by the variety and importance of his characters, his glowing description, and manly sense; but he seldom stops to give any general and collective views of the manners, population, or extent of the country in which he travels. To the same cause must be ascribed the freedom with which he has translated the conversations which passed between himself and the natives. He perceived, that a literal version would, in many instances, sound harsh and ridiculous, without having the merit of conveying a just idea of the speaker's sentiments and character. He chose the most agreeable alternative, and therefore his speeches appear, to an English reader, too easy and vernacular to be the genuine production of barbarians. It is only a person who is acquainted with the Abyssinian language and phraseology, who can trace their authenti-

city. Some of his characters have been thought too refined and sentimental for their particular state of society. There are, perhaps, some grounds for this objection: But Mr Bruce was intimately acquainted with the characters which he describes; and it must be observed, that those very persons, whom, on landing on a barbarous shore, we consider indiscriminately as savages, display, on further acquaintance, much of that variety of character, understanding, and feeling, which we expect only in civilised society.

The last class of defects in the work arose from inattention, of which it is unnecessary to exhibit instances, as most of them are noticed in the course of the succeeding volumes. His knowledge of the ancient languages was sufficient for the purposes of reading and research; but he had not been trained to the drudgery of verbal criticism and minute classical information. In the heat of controversy, he sometimes mistakes the sense of the author whom he quotes, and this has yielded an imaginary triumph over his writings, to the commentators and critics on the continent, who call in question his moral character, and the merits of his work, because he has misinterpreted a passage of Herodotus or Strabo*.

* Vide Larcher's Translation of Herodotus, Gosselin's Researches, &c. passim. The learned Professor Hartmann's character of Mr Bruce is as follows. "Abessiniam salutasse Brucium, vix dubium; retulit multas res memoriâ dignas, sed saepissimè

Though his journals were in general copious, he too often omitted to consult them, trusting to the extent and accuracy of his recollection. At the distance of fifteen years, a part of so many incidents must have been effaced from the most tenacious memory. Before he composed his narrative, his mind had begun to suffer from the indolence natural to his time of life. He was not sensible, that, by relying with too great security on his memory, he was in danger of confounding dates, actions, and circumstances, which might have been easily rectified by his papers. To this inattention must be imputed those particular inconsistencies, which have been unjustly ascribed to his vanity or want of veracity.

As a writer, Mr Bruce's style is, in general, simple, manly, and unaffected. If, in some instances, it be deficient in purity, owing to his national habits, and mean opinion of the mechanical part of writing, it has the merit of being his own, an advantage often denied to the narratives of other travellers. He received no assistance from literary men, and copied no favourite author. He is sometimes diffuse and prolix in the theoretical parts of his work, but his narrative is always well written. His descriptions are animated;

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mendacia lectoribus pro veritate obtrudit; sibimetipsi haud rarò contradicit, doctrinam jactatur quâ tamen caruisse multis locis comprobat. Opere ejus nemo ergo utatur, nisi antea adhibita sit crisis circumspectissima." Edrisii Africa, Hartmanni, p. xxxv.

his expressions are often much more appropriate and happy than occur, on similar occasions, in the works of writers who enjoyed every opportunity of study and practice. There are perhaps more sublime passages in his Travels, executed under the immediate impulse of genius, than are to be found in any other book of the kind. His character of Ras Michael has been pronounced genuine, because it is such as no writer could have invented since the time of Shakespeare *. It may be added, that it requires no common abilities to describe a character, which the imagination of Shakespeare alone could have equalled in fiction.

In closing these cursory observations on the only work which Mr Bruce published, it is but justice to observe, that, extensive as it is, it comprehends but a moderate share of his labours. It contains only a sketch of his travels in Barbary, and none of the beautiful drawings which he made in that country. His splendid delineations of the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra, his large collection of drawings of natural history, and his Arabic and Abyssinian manuscripts, ought nevertheless to be considered as an accession to the literary treasures of the country, procured by his unwearied exertions and industry.

After the publication of his Travels, Mr Bruce re-

* Supplement to the Encycl. Britan. Vol. I. art. Bruce.

newed his correspondence with his friends in England, particularly with the Hon. Daines Barrington. The proceedings of the African Association excited his attention. It was expected that some of the travellers, then on their way through Africa, would reach Sennaar or Habbesh; though Mr Bruce considered both unlikely to happen*. He applied, at intervals, to study, and amused himself with comparing part of the Ethiopic translation of the Bible with the original languages. He undertook this collation at the request of some persons, eminent for their high rank in the church, and equally conspicuous for learning and piety. Three years after the publication of the Travels, he was advised by his friends† to print a second edition in octavo, and he had made all his arrangements for that purpose, when his death suddenly prevented the execution of the design.

On Saturday, the 26th day of April, 1794, having entertained some company at Kinnaird, as he was going down stairs, about eight o'clock in the evening, to hand a lady into a carriage, his foot slipped, and he fell down headlong, from about the sixth or seventh step from the ground. He was taken up in a state of

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* Letters from Daines Barrington to Mr Bruce, Jan. 16. March 26. May 29. &c. 1792.

† Letters from D. B. to Mr B. July 29. Nov. 29.

apparent insensibility, with no marks of contusion, one of his hands only being a little hurt. Medical assistance was immediately procured, with no advantage. Though, some hours after the accident happened, there appeared a few symptoms of recovery, these gradually vanished, and he expired early in the next morning.

His remains were attended by a numerous and respectable company, on Thursday following, to the church-yard of Larbert, and deposited in the tomb which he had erected there to the memory of his wife and child.

Mr Bruce's stature was six feet four inches; his person was large and well-proportioned, and his strength correspondent to his size and stature. In his youth he possessed much activity, but in the latter part of his life he became corpulent, though, when he chose to exert himself, the effects of time were not perceptible. The colour of his hair was a kind of dark red; his complexion was sanguine; and the features of his face elegantly formed. The general tone of his voice was loud, strong, and rather harsh on particular occasions; when dictating to an amanuensis, his articulation was sometimes careless and indistinct. His walk was stately, and his air noble and commanding. He was attentive to his dress, and had a particular art of wearing that of the nations through which he passed in an

easy and graceful manner, to which he was indebted for part of his good reception, especially in Abyssinia.

The leading qualities of his mind were courage, magnanimity and prudence. He was endowed with a large portion of that elevated spirit, without which no enterprise of importance is conceived or executed. He was ambitious to be known as the performer of honourable and useful undertakings, and was equally intrepid and dexterous in effecting his designs. Though he justly ascribed his success to causes which no man can controul or direct, he owed much of it to his own precaution and superior good sense. His mode of travelling was peculiar to himself *. He omitted no opportunity of securing the means of safety in foreign countries, by methods which other travellers have sometimes neglected, to their great disadvantage. To use his own expression, he was not to be duped by ordinary letters of recommendation; he knew the style of the East, and always attempted to gain the protection of great men, by some hold on their interest.

His personal accomplishments fitted him, in a superior manner, for the undertakings in which he engaged. His constitution was robust; he had inured

* Vide Introduction to the Travels, p. 73---77.

himself to every kind of fatigue and exercise. His long residence among the Barbary Arabs, the best horsemen in the world, had enabled him to excel in the management of the horse, and in throwing the lance and javelin. His skill in the use of fire-arms was uncommonly great. He knew also how to display these accomplishments to the best advantage among barbarians, and seldom failed to excite their applause and astonishment.

In qualifications of a different description, he equalled, if not surpassed, the generality of travellers. His memory was excellent, and his understanding vigorous and well cultivated. He found no difficulty in acquiring languages of any kind. He understood French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, the two first of which he spoke and wrote with facility. Besides Greek and Latin, which he read well, but not critically, he knew the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; and in the latter part of his life, compared several portions of the Scriptures in those related dialects. He read and spoke with ease, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic. Necessity had made him acquainted with these last, and impressed them deeply on his mind *. He had applied, du-

* He frequently used, when in a thoughtful state of mind, to repeat to himself, in a low voice, the Arabic sentence, Staffar ullah (May God forgive), which those about him thought he pronounced Stofla.

ring most part of his life, to the study of astronomy, and other practical branches of mathematical learning. His abilities in drawing must have been considerable, as his taste in this particular was excellent. Though the attempts which were made to depreciate his character after his return, prevented him from mentioning the exact share of assistance which he had in executing his beautiful collection of drawings, it is certain that he received occasional help, and used it to much advantage.

Mr Bruce's temper, as he candidly confesses *, was irritable and passionate; but his heart was warm, his affections ardent, and his moral feelings extremely acute. His friendships were sincere, and, in general, permanent, though sometimes interrupted by suspicion. He was an easy, cheerful, and instructive companion. As he had a fixed regard for honour, justice, and integrity, he could not bear the slightest insinuation against his character; and to relieve himself from the vexations of anonymous abuse, he publicly declared his resolution of never paying the smallest attention to any criticisms made on his writings by persons who concealed their names.

When he observed other men deficient in moral

* Travels, Vol. V. p. 189.

conduct, he usually expressed his contempt of them in the most open unqualified manner. This procured him many enemies. Persons of a doubtful character avoided him, and declaimed against his haughtiness, vanity, and other vices of their own creation. Like most men of high spirit and superior knowledge, he was a jealous neighbour to such as affected that pre-eminence in the country to which he did not consider them entitled; to such as pursued a different conduct, he was friendly, affable, and attentive.

He discharged the public duties of society with superior ability and judgment. In private life he was, if possible, still more respectable. As a husband and a father, he deserved the highest praise. He entertained his friends, and strangers, with elegance, hospitality, and the most affable politeness. He loved to display, as far as was suitable, the magnificence that had long distinguished the name which he inherited. He was kind and indulgent to his servants, and pleased to see every one around him prosperous and happy. He used to celebrate, with his tenants and domestics, the stated festivals observed by his forefathers, in the feudal times, and always enjoyed, in the highest degree, the common happiness on these occasions. He was fond of rustic pleasantry and humour, and this, as will be readily observed, from the histories of Abou-couffi, Strates, Woldo, and others in the Travels, constituted a particular feature of his mind.

There was nothing peculiar in Mr Bruce's habits of life. He neither rose very early, nor sat late, except on particular occasions. His journies in the East were generally made in the morning, for obvious reasons; and in warm climates he took much exercise, and paid great attention to his health. He was moderate in his use of liquors of all kinds, but not abstemious beyond the usual practice of society. He was a hard student when engaged in any literary pursuit, and eager in the prosecution of every design which he had begun to execute.

The most defective part of his character arose from his constitutional temper, which disposed him to be suspicious of others, and hasty to take offence. His enmities therefore were sometimes capricious, though, in general, well-founded. His love of ancestry, and practice of telling his own exploits, though magnified into vices by the weakest of his enemies, scarcely deserve notice as imperfections, though they certainly were prominent features, in his character. A brave and virtuous man must always feel a pleasure in remembering that he is like such of his forefathers as most deserved to be imitated and remembered; and no satisfactory reason can be assigned why a traveller should not relate his adventures. The pride of ancestry is ridiculous only when it is substituted for personal merit; and the practice of

telling one's own actions, is reprehensible only when these are well known, false, or trifling.

With a regard for ancestors who had been eminently loyal and patriotic, it is not surprising that he loved his king and country with the warmest affection. He would have been among the first to support either of these on any dangerous emergency. He considered the French revolution, and all reforming of that kind, merely as a subversion of society, for the purpose of filling the places of the great with adventurers. He knew the French nation well, predicted the consequences of its republican frenzy, and shed tears on receiving an account of the fate of the king.

His religious principles were founded on the best basis, the Scriptures, and a firm belief of an over-ruling Providence. He was not attached to any sect; he detested fanaticism; and frequently took occasion to expose it. He used to recommend a diligent perusal of the Scriptures, as preferable to that of all other theological writings. His mind, accustomed to dangerous situations, from which Providence alone could deliver him, had contracted a slight and amiable tinge of superstition*; sometimes an attendant on warm unaffected piety, though never arising, in understandings like his, from ordinary causes.

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* Vide Travels, Vol. VI. p. 466, and Vol. VII. p. 260. et passim.

On estimating therefore the various merits of Mr Bruce's character, the superior and numerous endowments and accomplishments which he employed in performing undertakings useful to society, and the uniform regularity with which he combined the practice of morality and religion with the ease and active life of a gentleman, it will not be considered as presumptuous to affirm, that his name is justly entitled to a place in the list of those, who have been eminently conspicuous for genius, valour, and virtue.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Note A. p. vi.

THE family of Bruce can be traced to the common source of British nobility, the Norman conquest, A. D. 1066; and perhaps, if the information would repay the labour of research, to the conquest of Normandy itself, in the beginning of the 10th century. The name De Bruis*, borne by one of Duke William's knights, the ancestor of this family, was taken from some town or estate on the continent, according to the general practice of those times. This warrior having distinguished himself in the field, received from William a large estate, of which the principal castle was Skelton, in Yorkshire. His son, Robert de Bruis, obtained the friendship of David I. of Scotland, while that prince was earl of Cumberland, and, by his patronage, the hand of Agnes de Annand, heiress of Annandale, which introduced the Bruces into Scotland †. William de Bruis, second son of Robert, succeeded, in right of his mother, to the Annandale estate, A. D. 1143,

* Written variously Bruis, Brus, Bruise, Bruce; the true orthography is probably Bruix, the name of several places on the continent. Knights took their sirnames from the place of their birth, as well as from their estates, as Charles of Ghent, Edward of Wyndesore, &c. Robert de Bruis is called by Dugdale, nobilis miles de Normandia, from which it may be inferred that he was of noble extraction.

† David was feudal superior of Annandale, and had the disposal of the heiress.

and assumed the armorial bearings of Annandale *, which have ever since pertained to the family. His grandson, Robert de Bruis, fourth lord of Annandale, married Isabel, daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, in consequence of which her son, the fifth lord of Annandale, became a competitor for the Scotish crown.

Robert de Bruis had three sons, from the youngest of which all the families of Bruce in Scotland, which have any records, are descended. This circumstance has occasioned an assertion, sometimes made in conversation, that the Bruces are sprung from the kings of that name. Their ancestor had a right to the throne, by which his grandson, Robert I. ascended it in the year 1306. But there is no family of the name of Bruce sprung from the king, as the line became extinct in his son David II. (A. D. 1371.)

Though the king had many brothers, none of them survived himself, nor left any children. War and accident reduced the number of branches to one. A grandson of John de Bruis†, third son of the first competitor for the crown, obtained a charter of the lands of Clackmannan from king David Bruce, December 9, 1359. Edward, second son of Robert de Bruis, first baron of Clackmannan, married Agnes, eldest daughter and heiress of William de Airth, by whom he got possession

* The arms of Annandale were *Or*, a saltyre and chief, *gules*, which were born by all the Bruces, lords of Annandale, from 1148, till the death of king David Bruce, in 1371. The barons of Clackmannan, as being next of kin to the king, assumed, some time after, the arms of this illustrious name, and transmitted them, with the usual mark of cadency, to the branches of their family. Their crest is a hand holding a sceptre, *proper*, and the motto, which is "Fuimus," excites a melancholy recollection of departed greatness. The Bruces of Kinross carry, for a crest, a setting sun, with the motto "Irrevocabile," which may be translated, "Never to rise again."

† Robert de Bruis, great grandson of Robert the competitor, who obtained the lands and castle of Clackmannan, in Clackmannanshire, from

of the lands of Airth, Powfoulis, Kinnaird*, Stenhouse, &c. in Stirlingshire. This family long held the chief place among the cadets of the house of Clackmannan. In the end of the sixteenth century, Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth gave the estate of Kinnaird to his second son, Robert Bruce, then a minister of Edinburgh, from whom Mr Bruce is descended by the female side. Alexander Bruce, grandson of Robert Bruce, having no male issue, settled his estate on his daughter and her lineal descendants, on condition of bearing the

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king David, is called, in the charter, his beloved and trusty cousin (dilecto et fideli consanguineo suo), not on account of a general legal form, common at present, but on account of Bruce's relationship. David II. and he were, in the Scotch phrase, *second* cousins, both being great grandsons of the competitor.

* The most ancient possessors of the lands of Kinnaird on record, are the family of Colville, of Norman extraction, one of whom granted a lease of part of them to the convent of Holyroodhouse, September 15. 1229. They afterwards fell into the hands of the barons of Airth, whose large estate was divided among three co-heiresses, the eldest of whom was married to Edward Brus, probably about 1380. In August 1590, Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth resigned the lands of Kyneard in favour of Robert Bruce, his second son, and Margaret Douglas his wife (daughter of George Douglas of Parkhead). Robert Bruce resigned the same in favour of his eldest son Robert, and Margaret Monteith, his wife, October 31, 1623, and died August 13, 1651. Robert Bruce, last mentioned, resigned his lands to his eldest son, Robert, December 30, 1648. The time of his death is not known. Robert, who succeeded to him, was killed at the battle of Worcester, September 5, 1651; and, as he died unmarried, his brother Alexander was infeoffed in the estate January 3, 1655. Alexander Bruce married Margaret Elphinston, daughter to Elphingston of Quarrel, by whom he had two daughters, Helen, married to David Hay of Woodcockdale, and Jean, married to Henry Bruce, 12th baron of Clackmannan. The first of these was the grandmother of James Bruce, author of the Travels in Abyssinia. The only son of the second was Henry, 13th baron of Clackmannan, in whom the direct line of the family became extinct, and after whom the chiefdom devolved on the earl of Elgin.

family name and arms. The male line of the Airth family is now extinct, as is also that of the house of Clackmannan.

The family of Hay is well known to be one of the most ancient in Scotland. It can even be traced with greater certainty than that of Bruis to Normandy, where a baron sirnamed, from his estate, de la Haie, or de la Haya, had large possessions before the time of the Norman conquest. The sieur de la Haya accompanied duke William to England in 1066. It cannot be doubted, that all the families of the name originated from France; nor ought any credit to be given to the story commonly told of their exploits at the battle of Loncarty, A.D. 980. The ancestors of the Tweeddale and Errol families settled in Scotland in the reign of David I. who invited a number of Normans into the kingdom. The barons of both houses were always brave and loyal to an uncommon degree; and the Errol family seems to have obtained its lands in Perthshire for military services. Sir Gilbert de Haya of Locharret, and Sir Gilbert de Haya of Errol, were particularly active in raising Robert de Bruis to the throne; and, in its struggles for independence, Scotland gained few victories, and suffered few defeats, in which a Hay did not conquer or fall. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, a younger son of the family of Errol got possession of the lands of Lochloy, in the parish of Auldearn, in Moray, which remained in his family about 400 years *. The Hays of Park and Lochloy long held a respectable place among the barons of Scotland, but the direct line is now extinct, and the estate alienated. In the end of the 16th century, a younger son of the Park family obtained the lands

* The oldest title of the Hays of Park was dominus, or lord, of Tolyboithneill. John Hay, dominus de Tolyboithneill, is witness or principal in three charters, dated 1351, 1368, and 1374, one of which mentions his barony of Lochloy. His seal, besides the three shields, the common arms of his name, had a *bend dexter* above the *charge*, which shews him to have been a person of rank.

of Woodcockdale, in Linlithgowshire. In 1687, John Hay of Woodcockdale, and Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird, concluded a contract of marriage between David Hay, eldest son of the former, and Helen Bruce, eldest daughter and heiress of the latter, in which it was agreed, that their lineal descendants should enjoy the estate of Kinnaird, and bear the name and arms of Bruce.

No. II.

Note B. p. viii.

Royal Protection granted to Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird, 1683.

CHARLES R.

Whereas, we understand that captain Robert Bruce of Kynaird, brother to Alexander Bruce, now of Kynaird, having been captain in the earl of Mar's regiment of horse, was by us called, in the year 1650, to be one of the captains of our life guard, in which office he continued till the flight of Worcester, where, doing all that became a gentleman and a good souldier, he received those wounds which were the cause of his death soon after; and now being informed, that the said Alexander Bruce served faithfully in these wars, and received many wounds in our service, and that, after his brother's death, he had his estate sequestered by the English usurpers, and all his goods and moveables seized on: And likewise being informed, that the said Alexander Bruce is under divers processes of horning, captions, acts of warding and arresting for several sumes of money, wherein he stands bound, as principal or cautioner, for the deceased Sir Henry

Bruce of Clackmannan and William Bruce of Newton, whereof they are bound to relieve him, which he would be the better able to take course with, and to prove his own reliefe, and satisfaction to the creditors, if he had, for some competent time, freedom to his person for settling his affaires: And considering that his freedom, &c.

[Follows the grant of personal protection, for one year, commencing at the date of the grant.]

Given at our court, at Whitehall, the 3d day of February, 1682-3, and of our reign the 35th year,

By his Majesty's command,

MORAY.

No. III.

Note C. p. xiii.

The depressed state and discontent of the nation, are often alluded to in the correspondence between Mr D. Bruce and his friends, when consulting about the education of his son. The passages in the letters of Solicitor Hamilton and others, which mention Mr Bruce's early abilities and proficiency in literature, are also very numerous. One or two of these will give a sufficient idea of the rest, which are all in the highest strain of approbation. Dr Glen, brother-in-law to Mr D. Bruce, writes to him concerning his son, July 14, 1744, in the following terms—"What I wrote to you about James, is all true, with this difference only, that you may say, as the queen of Sheba said of Solomon, the one half has not been told you, for I never saw so fine a lad of his years in my life; but, lest I should have been deceived in my own opinion of him, I waited purposely on Dr Cox, to

get information from him how he was profiting, whose answer to me on that occasion was this: 'When you write to Mr Bruce's father about his son, you cannot say too much, for he is as promising a young man as ever I had under my care, and, for his years, I never saw his fellow."—Counsellor Hamilton, having been employed by Mr Bruce to enquire at his son, which profession he would chuse, writes as follows.—"June 28, 1746. I am extremely glad I can give you so good a character of him, for he is a mighty good youth, a very good scholar, and extremely good tempered; has good solid sense, and a good understanding; I make no doubt he will prove a very pretty fellow. I have talked to him about what profession he would most incline to. He very modestly says, he will apply himself to whatever profession you shall direct; but he, in his own inclination, would study divinity, and be a parson. The study of the law, and also that of divinity, are indeed both of them attended with uncertainty of success. But, as he inclines to the profession of a clergyman, for which he has a well-fitted gravity, I must leave it to you to give your own directions, though I think, in general, it is most adviseable to comply with a young man's inclination, especially as the profession which he proposes is, in every respect, fit for a gentleman."—Solicitor Hamilton's letter to Mr Bruce, April 18, 1747, when James set out for Scotland, concludes in the following manner—"As to my giving him advice with respect to his conduct and behaviour on his journey, I apprehend that to be entirely unnecessary, because it is with pleasure I think that God Almighty has given him an understanding superior to what is common at his age, and sufficient, I hope, to conduct him through all the various stages of life."

No. IV.

Note D. p. xxiv.

Letter of Mr Bruce to his Father.

DEAR SIR, *Marklane, Nov.* 12, 1754.

I received yours of the 28th ult. If I could be susceptible of more grief, I should have been much concerned for my good friend Mr Hay; but my distress at present does not admit of augmentation. Death has been very busy amongst my relations of late. My poor wife, my kind uncle *, who had been always a tender father to me, both gone in eight months! God Almighty do with me as he sees best! When I reflect upon what I have suffered these three years past, I am much more inclined to pray for my life being shortened than for a prolongation of it, if my afflictions must have no end but with my being. My mind is so shocked, and the impressions of that dreadful scene at Paris so strongly fixed, that I have it every minute before my eyes as distinctly as it was then happening. Myself a stranger in the country; my servants unacquainted with the language and country, my presence so necessary among them, and indispensibly so with my dear wife; my poor girl dying before my eyes, three months gone with child, full of that affection and tenderness which marriage produces when people feel the happiness, but not the cares of it; many of the Roman Catholic clergy hovering about the doors; myself unable to find any expedient to keep them from disturbing her in her last moments—

* Counsellor Hamilton.

Don't you feel for your son, dear sir, in these circumstances? But I will write no more; my afflicting you cannot alleviate my distress. I cannot, however, omit telling you an instance of Lord Albemarle's very great humanity; he has been always a warm protector of this house. The morning before my wife died, he sent his chaplain down to offer his services in our distress. After hearing the service for the sick read, and receiving the sacrament together, he told me, in case I received any trouble from the priests, my lord desired I would tell them I belonged to the English ambassador. When my wife died, the chaplain came again to me, desired me to go home with him, and assured me, that my lord had given him orders to see my wife buried in the ambassador's burying ground, which was accordingly done; and had it not been for this piece of humanity, she must have been buried in the common yard, where the wood is piled that serves the town for firing. I could not, however, leave her as soon as dead, as is the custom in England, but having ordered the mournful solemnity, with as much decency as is allowed in that country to heretics, at midnight, between the 10th and 11th ult. accompanied only by the chaplain, a brother of my lord Foley's, and our own servants, we carried her body to the burying ground, at the Porte St Martin, where I saw all my comfort and happiness laid with her in the grave. From thence, almost frantic, against the advice of every body, I got on horseback, having ordered the servant to have post horses ready, and set out in the most tempestuous night I ever saw, for Boulogne, where I arrived next day without stopping. There the riding without a great coat, in the night time, in the rain, want of food, which, for a long time, I had not tasted, want of rest, fatigue, and excessive concern, threw me into a fever; but, after repeated bleedings, and the great care taken of me by Mr Hay, I recovered well enough to set out for London on the Wednesday. I arrived at home on the Thurs-

day, when my fever again returned, and a violent pain in my breast. The former is so far abated, that I am endeavouring to do a little business, hoping, from the variety of that, to find some ease from reflections that at present are too heavy for me. Thus ended my unfortunate journey, and with it my present prospect of happiness in this life *.

No. V.

Note E. p. lix †.

Consul Bruce to Lord Halifax.

MY LORD, ALGIER, *May* 31, 1764.

I have received the honour of your lordship's letter of 18th November last. I am very happy that his majesty has approved of my endeavours to stop the Algerine embassy destined to complain of the government of Gibraltar. That

* A few sentences of this letter, not relating to the subject of the greater part of it, are omitted. Mr Bruce continued a widower above twenty years. He married Miss Dundas in 1776, who, from the inscription on the monument at Larbert, appears to have been born in the very year in which his first wife died.

† The following thirteen letters relate to Mr Bruce's consulship at Algiers, and are mostly addressed to lord Halifax, then secretary of state for the southern department. As they are written in a spirited manner, and exhibit a view of the character of their author in the only public situation which he ever held, it is hoped, that no further apology is necessary for inserting them in this place. They contain an account of his "apprenticeship to dangers" among barbarians.

whole affair is now dropt and forgotten, and I have no occasion to trouble your lordship further upon the subject.

As to the demand of the Moors, for their cargo seized on board the British brig in Oran, I cannot conceal from your lordship, that I have lately, with very little delicacy, been obliged to appear before a Turkish judge, to answer, whether I would or would not oblige myself personally for the payment of this debt, although I had intimated to them the steps your lordship had taken to obtain their indemnification of the court of Spain. As their conduct in this was certainly irregular, I thought it for his majesty's dignity to answer, that no such demand could legally exist after the treaty of peace signed by Mr Cleveland, by the last article of which it was provided, that no claims from the subjects of either power, preceding that day, should be included or required, but all considered as satisfied; that if his majesty had taken any steps towards procuring them indemnification, it proceeded purely from his love of justice, and sense of the affection borne to him by this government; and that his majesty would continue his endeavours, from these principles only, so long as they, on their part, behaved with that respect and decency due to his commissioners. I have since heard nothing of their claim, which, however, will be most certainly revived. I am only vexed, that it has had an influence on the present intended for his royal highness the duke of York, whose horses are not such as were at first intended; the best being picked out, and sent to the king of Sweden. Commodore Harrison, who has been here these three weeks, and very honourably received by the Dey, has seen them this day on board a ship bound for Portsmouth. I cannot mention this gentleman without assuring your lordship, that his behaviour here has been greatly to the honour of the service, and of his country. He proposes to sail this evening for Mahon in the Centurion.

I very humbly beg your lordship's pardon, if I take the liberty of mentioning my own affairs to your lordship. Before the sending of troops to Portugal, it was his majesty's intention to attack Ferrol. I was the first that gave in the plans of that place to the earl of Egremont and earl of Bute, which were considered by my lord H. we, then returned on purpose from Basque-road. This, and another very practicable one on the opposite coast of France, were afterwards laid aside, from the necessity of immediately assisting Portugal; but I hope Mr Grenville, then secretary of state, and Mr Wood, my lord Egremont's secretary, will do me the justice to acknowledge, that, upon a difficulty of landing being proposed, I, from no motive but of forwarding his majesty's service, offered to fix an ensign upon the landing-place in the first boat that went on shore.

After the invasion of Portugal, and the appearance of things coming to extremities, the attack of Oran, upon this coast, was judged a proper diversion; and, on this account, I accepted of this consulship, hoping that some occasion might present itself of shewing my offer for his majesty's service. On the conclusion of peace, I received a letter from my lord Egremont, intimating his majesty's intention of sending me with a commission to Malta, to examine some complaints of Mr Dodsworthy's. the acting consul; and I expected this appointment with greater pleasure, as it gave me an opportunity of passing through Sicily to Malta, from thence to Tunis, and from Tunis to pass to Algiers, by land, in which journey I hoped to make drawings of the principal antiquities now remaining in the inland country, and some plans and observations upon the principal parts on the coast.

Although this design likewise was laid aside, yet as I know his majesty's inclination for the arts in general, and architecture in particular, and as I have a very good opportunity to make the material part of this journey still, if the re-

quest is a proper one, I should be greatly obliged to your lordship if you would obtain me his majesty's permission, and if your lordship would recommend me, in a letter to the Dey, for his assistance and leave, which will be immediately granted. I am very certain, that, in this journey, I should make a very considerable addition to his majesty's collection of medals and sculpture, and make designs of ancient architecture, equal in magnificence to any in Italy, till now utterly unknown, and daily suffering from the ignorance and superstition of the inhabitants. In my absence, which will not exceed three months, his majesty's affairs will be in the hands of a vice-consul, who is very able, and much esteemed.

I should wish to have it in my power to set out in the end of August, or beginning of September. I sincerely beg your lordship's pardon for mentioning this, if it is any way improper, which, though I confess it is in some measure owing to my curiosity, is still more so, that I may show my attention to what I know is his majesty's pleasure.

After finishing this journey, and returning to Algier, I shall still farther beg his majesty's leave to resign this consulship, being induced by my friends to offer myself a candidate for my county next general election.

No. VI.

Consul B. to Commodore Harrison.

SIR, ALGIER, *June* 10, 1764.

I did myself the honour of writing to you by the French men of war, which parted from this three days ago; in that letter I informed you, that your ship, the Centurion, was

scarcely out of sight before the English sailor was released from the confinement in which he had been kept, that he might have no access to you or me during your stay; and that since, he has been very ill treated by his master, for the absurd reason that he had endeavoured to gain his liberty. I likewise informed you, that I had immediately gone to the king, and told him the irregularity of detaining him a slave, contrary to treaty, at a time when we were every day setting his people at liberty, and he professing his friendship to our nation; to which I got no answer, except that if our king would pay for him he might have him, else he should continue a slave. I added, that if you thought proper, or if it was his royal highness the Duke's order to send a frigate to demand him, that you should expose the irregularity of making Englishmen slaves, when the twelfth article of the treaty of peace declared that it was not thereafter lawful to buy or sell any English subjects in Algier; but that he was immediately to be set at liberty: And further, that after mentioning your having freed so many of his subjects at Malta, you should complain of the many irregularities of the Algerine cruizers. This was the substance of my letter to you by way of Genoa, directed to the care of Mr Consul Holford. I informed you at the same time of the arrival of the brig with his royal highness's horses, owing to contrary winds; which brig staid here till Wednesday the 6th, when she sailed with a small breeze at east north-east, but which has since continued nearly at east. I acquainted you also, that the morning before she sailed, the Dey sent privately on board a letter to the king, without speaking to me of it before or since, which I take to have been wrote by instigation of the Vakeel Hadje, or intendant of the marine; and that by her I had wrote a letter to the secretary of state, informing him of the weak state of the Dey, the entire management of every thing by renegadoes, the necessity for supporting our minister here with resolution, and at the same time mentioned the tergiversations about his royal highness's horses; and con-

cluded with the strongest encomiums I could, which indeed I was bound to do, of your proper, manly, and genteel behaviour here, to every person whatever. You will excuse me if I give my opinion, that your letter to Lord Halifax should likewise mention the Dey's weakness, and his subjection to very unworthy favourites, as my letter has done, in order to prevent the lies that *rascal* may have prevailed on the Dey to write having any weight in England. This morning, I hear, he asked how I took the refusal of the slave; and he was answered by your friend Hagi Isouf, that I took nothing ill, because I wrote always for instructions to the king; and whatever his majesty was pleased to approve or disapprove, with that I likewise was pleased or displeased. His answer was, will he write to the king about this miserable fellow? I desired Hagi Isouf to acquaint him, that the king's concern was universal, for the poor as for the rich; if possible, more for the poor, as being people that had no other helpers; and that it was my private opinion, the king would insist upon his being delivered up; which indeed I hope he will, for he is detained without a shadow of reason, and it will be a very ugly precedent. So much for business. I have only now to assure you of the affectionate remembrance of the Swedish Consul *, and those friends with whom you was here most frequently, and of all our desires to do you every possible service, if you will give us an opportunity. I have the honour to be always, dear sir, your very affectionate and obedient humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. VII.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

MY LORD, ALGIER, *June* 20. 1764.

A few days ago, I did myself the honour of writing to

* Mr Brander.

your lordship, viâ Mahon, under cover of Governor Johnston; in which letter I acquainted your lordship with the very untoward disposition of this government; of their having seized and made a slave an English sailor, called Roger M'Cormac, formerly belonging to the Hercules ship of war, which sailor the Dey ordered to be delivered up to Commodore Harrison; but being industriously confined in the country, he could not arrive till the Centurion sailed. I have informed your Lordship already, that upon my claiming him, and citing the articles of our treaty, by which no Englishman can be bought or sold at Algier upon any pretence whatever; that the Dey answered, this does not signify, the king of England must redeem this sailor, otherwise he shall die a slave. I likewise acquainted your lordship, that the Dey had ordered his surgeon, a Neapolitan, formerly on board an English East Indiaman, to act as British Consul; and that he had in consequence cleared out a ship, and sent her on her voyage without passport, bill of health, payment of consulage, or any other mark of acknowledging me his Majesty's Consul. I wrote besides by the brig that carried his royal highness the Duke of York's horses; but as I delivered my letter to Mr Turner, one of Commodore Harrison's officers, I do not repeat its contents, not doubting of its reaching your Lordship.

Yesterday morning the English sailor above-mentioned came to my house, all cut and mangled, and covered with wounds and bruises; sent in this manner from his master, to show, as he said, that neither his king nor consul, nor yet his wounds, could save him. The Dey's brother, when the fellow came, was accidentally dining with me; I showed him the sailor disfigured, and covered with blood; upon the sight, he declared with great passion, "These are the lessons of renegadoes: no true mussulman ever was capable of so unmanly a piece of barbarity." He had just strength enough to

crawl up to me, and fell down, crying out, if you are an Englishman, protect me from these barbarians.

I ordered Mr Richard Ball, his Majesty's surgeon to the factory, to dress his wounds. He apprehends his arm is fractured below the elbow; though, by reason of the very great swelling, he is not positive. I ordered him to be put to bed, and a smart fever immediately followed.

I went immediately to the great secretary, whose house is near mine, and carrying Mr Ball with me, complained of the usage of the Englishman; I told him of his dangerous situation, and that it was my intention to keep him in my house till he should either die or recover. The secretary was fully persuaded of the justness of my resolution, and regretted the irregular manner in which affairs were conducted towards England.

In the morning the fever was greatly increased, but I had still hopes from the surgeon's skill and attention; when about ten this forenoon, an order arrived from the king either to pay his ransom, or instantly to give him up, which I have done, ill as he was. The fear, my Lord, that his Majesty might condemn me for an over-hasty measure, that would have brought on some act of violence before his Majesty and your Lordship had time to take the necessary precautions to prevent the clamours of merchants and insurers, was my only motive for this compliance; otherwise I would have protected and defended to the last his Majesty's subject, thus flying under the colours, fatal as this measure might have been to me.

My Lord, since the appointment of a slave to act in room of the Consul his Majesty appointed, I have declined going from home; lest these people might draw me in to some affair capable of misrepresentation, which hitherto has not been in their power. But, my Lord, as I am daily threatened by hints, and as it perhaps will not be in my power to give your

Lordship further intelligence, your Lordship, in these circumstances, cannot but pardon the liberty I take in presuming to give you advice. The many favours these people have received from England, according to their opinion, are the result of fear. All other nations pay them an annual tribute from this motive; and they now are endeavouring, by the advice of two renegadoes, to bring England under the same obligation. Commodore Harrison, during his stay here, saw and believed in the conduct of these two people evident signs of their bad intentions; while, at the same time, I shewed him very distinctly the incapacity of Algiers to stand upon any terms, if proper ships were sent against it. It was Mr Harrison's opinion, that two 74 gun ships would reduce it to the terms his Majesty should prescribe, or in two hours destroy it totally. I am satisfied that this opinion is well founded; but if to the two 74 gun ships, two bombs were added for execution, not on the batteries, but on the town, were they rash enough not to comply with his Majesty's requests, (which they will not attempt) two hours would leave them in ruins, void of defence, without one vessel, and a prey to the Spaniards, who would not fail hereafter to keep them under. There is, besides, an army of rebels, in number above 22,000, no win arms, within three days march of Algiers, which would give his Majesty's representations weight, did they need it, which, with those ships, they would not.

The principal heads of redress that would occur, would be the punishment of the two renegadoes. One is named Brahim; he is hasnador or chamberlain: the other's name is Hassan; he is intendant of the marine, and protector of all those who have lately robbed our ships, and insulted our colours; the punishment of the surgeon Paolo Colucci, and of him who has used so barbarously the Englishman above-mentioned; after which as preliminaries, any stipulation might be added for the security of our commerce. My Lord, if any

expostulation be used before ships come, sufficient to enforce these demands, it is to be feared that they will send out their cruizers, and seize a sufficient number of his Majesty's subjects to be hostages against any attack on the town, whom they would threaten with torture and execution, if any violence was used; and it were therefore to be wished that no notice was conveyed of any armament till the ships arrived at Mahon, unless to the Commodore only, that he might draw together his squadron scattered in different stations. My Lord, since the recal of his Majesty's late Consul* at the Dey's instance, we have been treated as subjects not of England, but of Algier; and as, in this country, one minister decides as to liberty and life, I beg your Lordship's pardon if I write too freely, or if I seem to take for granted what is undoubtedly lodged in his Majesty's good pleasure to do, or leave undone. In any other country or settlement, I should not take the liberty, and even now do beg your Lordship's pardon for it, when I affirm, that if this Dey and his two favourites live, there is no other way, but either to abruptly demand satisfaction as above, or defer his explanation till other excesses, more monstrous than these, call upon his Majesty's justice at a time less convenient. At any rate, I beg your Lordship will transmit to me instructions for my behaviour, that with the best intentions I may not incur his Majesty's censure merely from ignorance of his will. I have only to add, that I am well aware, that in an affair of this consequence your Lordship would wish to be satisfied, that there was not in the case any aggression. My very near relation Mr Hamilton had

* Mr Aspinwall. A letter of the Dey to secretary Pitt, whom he calls the *Vizir*, has this remarkable passage in it. "My high friend, some time past, John Ford, was a merchant in Algier, whom we desire you will appoint Consul, and send a day the sooner to us, because your Consul in Algier is an obstinate person, and like a b——; and does not regard your affairs, &c. &c.

the honour of being your Lordship's secretary in Ireland; I have the pleasure likewise of being a little acquainted with Mr Oswald; of these I hope your Lordship will learn, that I am not likely to make misrepresentations. I have given Commodore Harrison private notice to keep a frigate on this station, that if any attempts be made on our ships, he may run in and carry intelligence either of this or any other violence. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. VIII.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

MY LORD, ALGIER, *July 20th*, 1764.

I had the honour of writing to your Lordship the 20th ult., under cover of the governor of Gibraltar. A few days after, an opportunity offering, I sent duplicates of the said letters by the same channel.

In that letter, I acquainted your Lordship with the cruel treatment of the English sailor, and with the irregular manner in which the master of a merchant vessel, Duncan, had been dispatched out of this port without bill of health, or any other paper from me. A slave of the Dey's, Paolo Kolucci, acted as British consul, and interdicted me by a formal message from concerning myself in that expedition. The night he embarked, the Dey gave him a letter in Turkish, and a large Algerine ensign. He is, it is said, to return here again; and I cannot but imagine, that he has a view of turning renegado. Soon after his departure, I received a letter from one Daniel,

a merchant in Gibraltar, his owner, desiring I would detain the vessel and secure the funds, but it was too late. This is the second merchant he has thus defrauded.

On the 8th instant, I was informed, that the Dey had sent orders to have all the English passports delivered up. There were then eight vessels in the harbour; five of which had English Admiralty passes, the rest passavants for a limited time; no new check'd passports being, it seems, yet issued for Gibraltar or Mahon. In all probability, these three vessels would have been seized, but by accident three large ships appeared in the offing; and a report being spread that they were men of war, the passavants were instantly restored, and I sent the ships immediately away to Gibraltar, to which place they belonged.

Some days after, those ships came in, and proved to be a Dutch frigate, and two large Danes, seeking corn.

But, on the 17th of this month, arrived from Genoa the San Vincentio, John Stephanopoli master, of his Majesty's island Mahon, having a regular written pass, commonly called a passavant, under hand and seal of his Majesty's governor Colonel Johnston, bearing, that he had dispatched the said vessel in search of corn for his Majesty's garrison, under which commission the said vessel and master had once loaded at Ancona, and carried a cargo to Mahon; and after being dispatched a second time to Genoa, failing to find a loading there, he came over to Algiers, intending to seek corn on the coast of Barbary.

The 18th instant, the day after his arrival, the Dey, without communicating his intention any way to me, sent and took his passport from him, and directed the ship and funds on board to be seized and confiscated, the captain and crew stript of every thing, and immediately condemned to slavery. The inclosed petition will show your Lordship that they are treated with more severity than even those Spaniards, their enemies, that fall into their hands.

The captain, from the time of his arrival, was not suffered to come to me, as by every treaty subsisting he ought to have been allowed to do, I therefore went to him at the marine; and after much scruple, they allowed me to see his papers, which, upon examination, were all perfectly just and regular; upon which I sent my drugoman, with the captain of the port, to the Dey, with my declaration, that the vessel's papers were regular, and that the whole was British property. The Dey returned me for answer, that the peace was made in the terms of printed passports, not of written ones, or, as they are called here, passavants, which was false; that he was resolved to seize every vessel that had not an admiralty pass, both by sea and land, i. e. in port; and if the king of England was not contented, each was at liberty to take the measures pleased him best. I observed to them that this was a defiance, and desired to know if I should write in these terms; to which the admiral answered, yes. Immediately the regenado, intendant of the marine, ordered the captain to be seized and carried on board the vessel, where the colours were struck, in a manner, according to the captain's information, too insolent to repeat; upon which I left them, having done every thing in my power to dissuade them from such violence.

I hear there were some that ventured to prophecy that mischief would follow this seizure; but the king, to show he had no apprehension, and was the first to set the example, ordered the spying glass to be brought to him as his first part of the plunder. I send your lordship a copy of the contract of sale of the vessel made before the British consul of Genoa, Mr Holford; by which your Lordship will see that there is no chicane nor dissimulation, but that the vessel is *bona fide* British property. I intended to have sent a copy of the passport, but that is in the Dey's possession, and has been refused to me. I can only say, that this pass of the governor's is as full and regular as any I have ever seen; and bears, that this vessel, wherever it touched, was for account of his Majesty's

garrison at Mahon, then labouring under want of provision. I cannot, in justice to the unfortunate master of the vessel, whose name (Stephanopoli) is that of an alien, omit observing, that he was one of those few people established at Mahon, who continued in their allegiance, and served in the siege of St Philip till the surrender of that place and island; and then left Mahon, and never returned till his Majesty's forces again took possession of it; during which time he was constantly in our service, particularly three years on board the Monmouth man of war, and in that action wherein she took the Foudroyant. His brother, I am told the person named Teodoraci, in Mr Holford's certificate at the end of the contract of sale, who is part owner of the vessel, is at present product master, as it is called, of Mahon, a place given him as a reward for the good services of his family.

As early, my lord, as August 1763, a vessel belonging to Mahon with a passavant was taken by a Salletine cruizer, and brought in here with a view of being condemned; but as I heard his majesty's consul at Tetuan was then absent, which indeed he too often is, considering the nature of his service, and that there is no other consul in Morocco, assisted by my friends in government, I not only hindered its condemnation here or its going to Tetuan, which was the proposed alternative, but likewise procured it to be taken by force out of the Salletine's hands, and sent to continue its voyage to Mahon. At that time, my lord, I wrote as pressingly as in my present place one decently can to the Earl of Egremont, then secretary of state, explaining the danger of these written passes, and begging his lordship, as it was a work of no time, to order immediately Mediterranean passports to be issued for Mahon and Gibraltar. I likewise wrote to his lordship the whole state of the Oran demand; but I received no answer to either. I then wrote at length to Mr Joseph Richardson in his lordship's office, in substance nearly what I had wrote to my lord Egremont. This gentleman wrote me he had com-

municated my letter to his lordship, but it would seem no passports have been issued, as I have not seen here from Mahon any thing but passavants from Gibraltar, and I think but two passports from Mahon. But although, my lord, it be in general true what has been alleged by the government relating to this prize, that there is no mention of the passavants in their treaty, yet this cannot conclude any thing against the validity and legality of such papers. Passavant is a term which is not English, and will not therefore be found in our treaties; the word used in the articles of our peace, is *proper passes*, under which are certainly comprehended these written passports, which are so certainly proper, that there are exigencies in which they are more regular than any others. Suppose such an accident as Mahon or Gibraltar falling into the enemy's hands; or even at the end of a war, many passports must have fallen into their power. which may by them be distributed among hands not qualified to bear them. In this case (and it is the present one) a passport, under the hand and seal of a governor newly come, whether of Mahon or Gibraltar, must be the most authentic and unexceptionable evidence of British property, till such time as new passports, with a different check, are issued, and render evident the deceit carried on under cover of the old ones.

Another case will occur to your Lordship, that renders these written passports, (or, as they are called by foreigners, passavants,) necessary: if one of his majesty's subjects buy a vessel in a foreign port, say Algiers, how is that vessel, which is British property, to get to Mahon or Gibraltar, where only she can receive her Mediterranean pass? The consul, your lordship knows, can give no Mediterranean pass, he must then give a written temporary one, which is a passavant. Were she to go without papers, she is every body's prize; if she goes with false ones, they seize her here; how is it possible in this manner that a ship can escape, or that a merchant can be safe in his purchase?

Although, then, it be allowed, that passavants are not mentioned in our treaties, yet proper passes are, and those certainly must be allowed to be proper, which, in the first supposition, can alone prevent evasions of our act of navigation, and, in the second, are so necessary, that without them no purchase of vessels can be made from foreigners.

But, though the constant neglect of the Oran demand from 1757 to the present time is the pretext for this ill humour, and the difference between passports printed and written is the pretext for gratifying it, your lordship may be assured from me, that the drift of this government is of another kind than the regulating of this particular; for had this been the object, it would have struck them long ago, as the Dey himself has freighted for his own account many vessels both of Mahon and Gibraltar, with passavants, rather than trust to the regular papers of any other Crown. Their true intention, which they had begun to pursue before the Spanish war, was to make every power who had a consul here tributary to them, and they have accomplished their end with every one but his Majesty and the Emperor. I am told it has been insinuated by the French, that we are both now so exhausted with the late war, that every thing is possible, if attempted. They have begun with Great Britain, by the series of oppressions and violations of treaties, part of which only I have wrote to your lordship; and on the 15th instant, an Imperial vessel, many days in port unmolested, was seized and confiscated suddenly by order of the government, the ship and cargo sold, and the people made slaves. The consul went and remonstrated to the Dey against this act of violence, who, with his own hand, beat him very severely, and it was by flying out of his presence, that he escaped perhaps a more tragical misfortune.

On the 18th, war was declared against the emperor; and some Tuscan sailors and passengers arriving on board a French vessel, were, contrary to all law and custom, taken out from under the neutral colours, and made slaves without any

resistance on the part of the French. The Imperial consul is ordered to leave this place in eight days, but first to pay, under various pretences, about L. 3,000 Sterling to this state, under certification of being put in chains, and in the stone carts. If any thing can add to the irregularity of the proceeding, it is, that this peace of the Imperialists is guaranteed by the Grand Signior.

My lord, as orders are issued to seize every vessel navigating with written papers; as this is the season when they all come here for corn; as there are no less than sixteen expected, most of which I believe have no other papers, and as I am informed, there are in all thirty in the Mediterranean under these circumstances, I have thought it my duty to dispatch Dr Ball, his Majesty's surgeon to this factory, express to your lordship, being the only person in whom I can confide. I have, by him, wrote to Mahon, to the several Consuls in the Mediterranean, to stop any such ships destined to Algiers, and have wrote, unfortunately without answer, to Commodore Harrison to send down a frigate, which may cruize for these ships off this port, and turn them back from their destruction, I hope his Majesty will approve of this step, the only one possible to save the Mediterranean trade, for your Lordship may depend upon it, that if once the cruizers go out, their search for papers and prizes will be more irregular than is perhaps apprehended.

The Spanish cruizers are all now out, and this will keep these vessels in for about a month more, and will give his Majesty so much time to come to a resolution, and I sincerely pray it may not be the fatal one of a previous negociation.

My lord, in this country of murder, chains, and torture, your Lordship will not expect me to be more explicit than I am as to measures. I am not certain but that the Doctor will be stopped, and my letters seized to-morrow. For my poor

opinion in every thing not written, your Lordship may give credit to Dr Ball in what he says from me; he has long served his Majesty in Flanders and America, and from his behaviour here, deserves every commendation I can give him. I beg your Lordship will order the payment of his expences upon his arrival, and I hope some encouragement may further be given him. I was just finishing the letter to your Lordship, when word is brought me, that this morning early, the master of the above-mentioned vessel, and the supercargo, were carried before the Dey, and in order to extort a confession if they had secreted any effects, were bastinadoed over the feet and loins in such a manner as the blood gushed out, and then loaded with heavy chains: the captain, it is thought, cannot recover. I have likewise received from a friend some insinuations, that I am in danger, and advice to fly; but as it was not the prospect of pay, or want of fortune, that induced me to accept of this employment, so I will not abandon it from fears or any motives unworthy a gentleman. One brother has this war already had the honour of dying in his Majesty's service, two more are still in it, and all I hope is, if any accident befall me, as is hourly probable, his Majesty will be favourable to the survivors of a family that has always served him faithfully. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. IX.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

MY LORD, Algier, July 25. 1764.

Having charged Dr Ball with dispatches to your Lordship, and found an English vessel to carry him to Mahon, the vessel sailed out of this port the 22d, at 9 in the morning. About 12 it had made a considerable offing, in distance about 10 miles, when a boat with Moors on board overtook it and one Turk, captain of the port, told the Doctor, that it was the Dey's order, he immediately came on board his launch. Mr Ball answered that having the king's commission, and a passport from the consul, and being dispatched on his Majesty's service, he would obey no such order. The Turk replied, that he would force him to comply, and remonstrated how fruitless any resistance would be. Mr Ball answered, that there were in the vessel people sufficient to repel force with force if it was offered, and desired to know if the captain of the port had any commission, and that he would show it; the other said he had none but a verbal one. The Doctor asked him where his colours were, and how it was that, without commission or colours, he had boarded an English vessel at sea, with her proper ensign flying, and at mid-day pretended to force a King's officer from under the colours of his nation, and going upon his Majesty's service. The captain of the port said, he had his orders, and declared to the master of the vessel that he would make him a slave and seize the vessel, if he did not oblige the Doctor to go on board the launch,

which, from fear of this menace, he was obliged to do. Mr Ball finding himself abandoned, was forced to comply, and was thereupon taken into the launch and forcibly brought on shore. As the boat had been seen a long time before it came on board, the Doctor had delivered the dispatches to the mate of the vessel to throw them overboard; which, upon the ship's being boarded, it is imagined he did. But not being allowed time to speak to any body, and being hurried into the boat, he is not certain, nor knows to what port the ship steered.

I have remonstrated against this proceeding very ineffectually; so have all the great Turks in government; but to no purpose; the Dey declaring, that he will not suffer me to write or send till all the vessels without passports are confiscated.

Yesterday orders were given to break up the vessel lately belonging to Mahon, though almost new, which have been executed with great speed, so that not a plank is now left together. Your Lordship will see by this, that their resolution is to preclude themselves even from the possibility of restitution.

The same day it was proposed, in the Dey's presence, to give my vice-consul, (Mr Forbes) a 1000 bastinadoes, to extort from him a confession of the contents of my papers. He is now fled to my house for protection, where he continues, being much troubled with the gout in his hands and feet; a 100 bastinadoes would kill him, nor could he satisfy them in a single syllable, as I have never, in writing or copying letters to your lordship, used any hand but my own; and it being now come to that time in which I cannot expect long to be at liberty, I no longer can venture to preserve copies, so beg your lordship will pardon the variation in such letters as are intended for diplomas, as the difference will never be material.

will be necessary to punish, if ever we are to be at peace in Algiers. Restitution of the effects of the Mahonese, who is still in chains, and some additions to, and explanations of our present treaties, will then come of course; and I hope it may not be construed as forwardness, if I say these particulars will be better trusted to me than to any sea officers whom his majesty may send, who are not acquainted with the customs and abuses of this country. I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. XI.

Lord Halifax to Consul B.

SIR, St James's, September 18. 1764.

I have received all your letters, the last of which is of the 14th of August. I regularly laid them before the king, and I hope very soon to be able to acquaint you of his majesty's determination and commands upon the very interesting contents of them. In the mean time, you will assure the Dey and his ministers, that no new passports have been sent out, and when new ones are ordered to be prepared, which is intended to be done immediately, they cannot without distressing the trade take place for a considerable time; and of which timely notice will be given. You will also take the first and most convenient opportunity of writing to all his majesty's consuls upon the Barbary coast, that they may prevent, in time, the effects such ill-grounded reports may have upon the trade of his majesty's subjects in those parts.

I cannot close my letter without giving you the satisfaction of knowing, that the prudent and judicious manner in which you have conducted yourself throughout the whole of the disagreeable circumstances you relate in your several letters, and the measures you took to prevent the ill consequences that might have resulted from them, have met with the king's gracious approbation; and it is not doubted but you will continue to exert your utmost diligence and abilities for his majesty's service.

I have not omitted to lay your request before the king, and shall not fail to provide for your return to England as soon as it can be done consistently with the good of his majesty's service. I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DUNK HALIFAX.

No. XII.

Mr Wood to Consul Bruce.

DEAR SIR, London, October 26. 1764.

I am favoured with your very obliging letter of the 11th June, by Mr Ball. I went immediately to lord Halifax to support, as far as I could, your views of three months absence, which you had desired of his lordship; and in short to procure his indulgence in whatever shape you might stand. I find his lordship so favourably disposed towards you, that it became needless to press him on that head; he showed me your letter, which he complimented highly; and told me, that he was very ready to come into any request you had to make. I have not seen his lordship since, but I am told at

No. IX.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

MY LORD, Algier, July 25. 1764.

Having charged Dr Ball with dispatches to your Lordship, and found an English vessel to carry him to Mahon, the vessel sailed out of this port the 22d, at 9 in the morning. About 12 it had made a considerable offing, in distance about 10 miles, when a boat with Moors on board overtook it and one Turk, captain of the port, told the Doctor, that it was the Dey's order, he immediately came on board his launch. Mr Ball answered that having the king's commission, and a passport from the consul, and being dispatched on his Majesty's service, he would obey no such order. The Turk replied, that he would force him to comply, and remonstrated how fruitless any resistance would be. Mr Ball answered, that there were in the vessel people sufficient to repel force with force if it was offered, and desired to know if the captain of the port had any commission, and that he would show it; the other said he had none but a verbal one. The Doctor asked him where his colours were, and how it was that, without commission or colours, he had boarded an English vessel at sea, with her proper ensign flying, and at mid-day pretended to force a King's officer from under the colours of his nation, and going upon his Majesty's service. The captain of the port said, he had his orders, and declared to the master of the vessel that he would make him a slave and seize the vessel, if he did not oblige the Doctor to go on board the launch,

which, from fear of this menace, he was obliged to do. Mr Ball finding himself abandoned, was forced to comply, and was thereupon taken into the launch and forcibly brought on shore. As the boat had been seen a long time before it came on board, the Doctor had delivered the dispatches to the mate of the vessel to throw them overboard; which, upon the ship's being boarded, it is imagined he did. But not being allowed time to speak to any body, and being hurried into the boat, he is not certain, nor knows to what port the ship steered.

I have remonstrated against this proceeding very ineffectually; so have all the great Turks in government; but to no purpose; the Dey declaring, that he will not suffer me to write or send till all the vessels without passports are confiscated.

Yesterday orders were given to break up the vessel lately belonging to Mahon, though almost new, which have been executed with great speed, so that not a plank is now left together. Your Lordship will see by this, that their resolution is to preclude themselves even from the possibility of restitution.

The same day it was proposed, in the Dey's presence, to give my vice-consul, (Mr Forbes) a 1000 bastinadoes, to extort from him a confession of the contents of my papers. He is now fled to my house for protection, where he continues, being much troubled with the gout in his hands and feet; a 100 bastinadoes would kill him, nor could he satisfy them in a single syllable, as I have never, in writing or copying letters to your lordship, used any hand but my own; and it being now come to that time in which I cannot expect long to be at liberty, I no longer can venture to preserve copies, so beg your lordship will pardon the variation in such letters as are intended for diplomas, as the difference will never be material.

No. X.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

MY LORD, Algier, August 20. 1764.

After receipt of mine of the 15th instant, your lordship will be surprised to see another letter from Algier *. The morning after I got the orders to leave this place, I freighted a ship to carry me to Mahon; and remained all day after in the house settling my affairs. In the evening I had a very unexpected visit from the king's brother, who it is thought will be his successor in the government. His conversation, however, was entirely on indifferent subjects, only on parting he desired I would put myself to no further expence about removing, as it was not possible I could be allowed to go. The next day was Friday, the day when the Divan is always assembled, when I went to my country house to finish my packing up, and the gates of the town being shut I was ignorant of what was passing. After their prayers, the whole of the great officers went to the king, and openly declared to him that the dismissing of me was a matter of too great consequence to be determined without their consent; all of them put him in mind of the constant good behaviour of the English, and of their inability to resist our force, and the impossibility of thinking of peace after I was gone. They each from their own good intentions spoke favourably of me, particularly one principal man of the marine, who declared to the king, that of the four-and-forty Rais's, or Captains of the Navy, all, except five, had sworn not to go to sea if I went away; and

* The letter of the 15th August informed Lord H. that Mr Bruce had received orders to leave Algiers.

they all exhorted the Dey to give the king satisfaction upon those who had advised him to a measure so detrimental to the country. The Dey was struck with a violent panic at so unexpected an application, and immediately sent a message to me, and after that a second; but as I was afraid, at the instigation of his slaves, he might abuse me, as he had done so very lately the Imperial Consul, I excused myself from going to him. In the afternoon his Drugoman came to me with a very particular request from him, that I would not take to heart the Wednesday's orders to leave Algiers; he said the Dey confessed he was old, and had been ill advised; desired I would only stay till they had settled the affairs with England as to passports, as well as they could, by peace or war, and he would behave to me as a father to a son.

Two hours I positively refused staying, but his brother coming in the evening and assuring me the Dey's intentions were sincere, I at last consented to stay till the king's orders should be known, making really a virtue of necessity, as certainly it was resolved, at all events, to prevent my retreat by force, if by fair means they could not prevail. Luckily the vessel that has my last on board is yet in the bay, though under sail, and I have hopes that this may reach her. My lord, this is the time to establish his majesty's affairs here; and if here, through all Barbary, on a lasting foundation. The present favourable intentions will in a few days subside, and more violent measures be adopted than ever, when they see no reason of fear; and therefore I hope your lordship will prevail on his majesty to send few ships, but large, and I will answer for their success. The names of the delinquents whom it may please your lordship to specify in any letter, which may be wrote to the Dey for satisfaction, are Hassan the Renegado, Intendant of the Marine; Ussein, Captain of the Port; Hagi Mahomet, a Tripoline; and Paolo Colucci, a slave, by much the most culpable of the whole. These it

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my life; I never indorsed a false passport, nor ever received even the ordinary dues of my office. It is now eighteen months since I have sent home a state of the Mediterranean papers, and have, at very considerable expence, stifled many little affairs which another would perhaps have brought immediately before your lordship. But when I found violences systematically succeed each other; when every vessel brought complaints of the robberies of cruisers who had not courage to seek an enemy; when I found his majesty's natural born subjects and sailors detained in slavery contrary to treaty, beat, wounded, and in irons; when a vessel, declared by his majesty's governor of Mahon to be his majesty's subjects property, was, contrary to the practice towards French, Tuscans, and other nations whose vessels are always upon doubts sequestrated till orders come from court— broke to pieces and burnt, her master cruelly beat and put in irons, her funds confiscated, her sailors made slaves, and treated with more inhumanity than the Spaniards; when a courier, dispatched to your lordship, was forcibly taken from under the colours of his nation, and his majesty's consul ordered away in the immediate execution of his duty; all I did was to have recourse to your lordship, to state the facts simply, to give your lordship an account of the force and disposition of the delinquents, and the state of the papers which were the excuses for their delinquency, and, after laying the whole before your lordship, constantly desired your lordship's correction and instruction. My lord, I never expostulated with the Dey but on receiving your lordship's letters, and then in public before his whole council. There is not one word I ever said that cannot be vouched by every Christian in Algier. I begged your lordship's leave to take a small journey for three months before I resigned the consulship, satisfied, that if, upon settling these affairs, I returned immediately, I should be considered as recalled for misbehaviour. The consequence has

justified my apprehensions, and your lordship will see, by the inclosed affidavit, how unworthily I am treated while staying by express command of his majesty for his service.

My lord, as I have no intelligence from England but the very disagreeable news which Mr Duncan brings, I have only to intreat most humbly his majesty's permission to resign immediately, that I may have an opportunity of justifying myself to his majesty, not to the Dey of Algiers.

I am, my lord,

Your lordship's, &c.

No. XVI.

Mr Bruce to his Excellency Captain Cleveland.

SIR, GARDEN, *June* 23, 1765, *half past five.*

I received the honour of yours of this date, the very instant I now write. You will please to remember, that when I did myself the pleasure to wait upon you on board the Phœnix*, you was pleased to inform me, that it was your intention to have several conversations with me upon the king's affairs. It would perhaps have been more proper than to have given so immediate a requisition for this only; I have waited, by immediate orders from his majesty, since the 3d of November, 1764, notwithstanding my repeated intreaties to be recalled, and the immediate obligation I had to solicit my election in Parliament.

Short as the warning is, I should be sorry if ever I could be taken so unawares as not to be able to give an account of my behaviour in the department it has pleased his majesty to en-

* The ship in which capt. C. arrived.

trust me with; though, having acted according to the best of my judgment, and having by letters, at your service when you call upon them, received the sanction of his majesty's approbation, I am very far from believing myself liable to be called to account for such behaviour, otherwise than legally before a tribunal in my own country.

I am no longer under the protection of his majesty's commission, yet I am called upon to maintain the several complaints of infringements of treaties which I have made while his majesty's minister. As this is the king's pleasure, I accept it willingly, because such service has in it danger, can be attended with no advantage to me, and as I am in no ways obliged to do it, it can therefore arise from nothing but a desire to serve him.

[Ten articles of grievances follow, with proofs, the same in substance with those mentioned in the preceding letters, but arranged under the articles of treaty as violations.]

These are the complaints which your excellency mentions are to be the subject of to-morrow's audience; they are stated in a very indistinct manner, the shortness of the time given me obliging me to write far in the night. In the mean time I beg leave to mention to your excellency, that, to prevent all possibility of my escaping censure, if these facts are false or misrepresented; or if true, that I may have it in my power to vindicate myself, as occasion may offer; that your excellency would confess or deny these articles to be as they are stated, as, from some passages in my letters already communicated to very unworthy people, and from your excellency having made me the only Christian in Algier to whom you have returned no visit, I am led to believe, if I could entertain such a suspicion, that your inquiry is rather pointed at me, than at the grievances of the nation.

No. XVII *.

*Consul Bruce to Mr S. P. C*****.*

SIR,

I received your letter, unjustly attempting to shift an account, to which you shall come here or in Europe. You are not a native of Great Britain, and from that, I suppose, you claim an indulgence of not understanding the language of the country, otherwise you would not write me such nonsense, "of your head's being in danger." I said, and now repeat it to you, that if you do not furnish me an account, or if you furnish a false one, the consequences will fall on yourself or, as it is oftener called, upon your head. The consequences of false accounts, Mr C ---, are not capital, but whatever they are, do not brave them. Remember what your behaviour

* This letter, which is very characteristic of Mr Bruce's manner of speaking and behaving on similar occasions, is inserted to illustrate the assertions made in p. lxiv of the Life. It is addressed to an Irish merchant, who acted as vice-consul at Algiers, from the time of the death of Mr Ford till the arrival of Mr Bruce. C. as interim-consul, had been employed to recover, through the interposition of the Algerines, the price of a cargo of corn sold to the regency of Tunis, for a poor widow in England, to whose husband the corn had belonged. Mr Bruce considered the charges made by C. for presents to the courtiers, commission, &c. as exorbitant and fraudulent, especially as C. refused to name the persons to whom the presents were given, and shewed an inclination to retain the money in his own hands, or to pay only what he chose.

has been to his majesty's consul, and to every British subject here in Algiers. In consideration of your family, I give you warning not to begin shuffling with me.

Send me your account fairly wrote out, with every name and date to it, that I may inquire if these presents were really given, otherwise I will adjudge you to pay the whole 8567 shillings, and will make you pay it. You told me you had given the treasurer 1000 sequins; you have now brought it down to 1000 zermaboubs. Whatever it was, it was well bestowed. What, are you afraid of naming any body else after you have so frankly named the most powerful man in the kingdom under the Dey? Those to whom you have given money in Mrs H——'s name must have been people that could do service in the cause. If they are such as could do service, if it was in their department to do service, I will allow you the reasonable present. The delicacy you express for not mentioning names is here out of season, Mr C. Nobody, we know, will work for you out of love; they must be paid for it, for they have no esteem for you. These presents are their pay. If they did the widow service in proportion to their present, considering the manner of your dealing, they deserve it; but I will not suffer presents made to distress his majesty's consul, presents made to send away his chancellor, nor these made for *tiskeras** to carry corn to Spain, to be charged upon Mrs H——. One article of a present you mentioned to my drugoman, with the name to it. Are you more delicate with me than with my drugoman? You insist, that if my executors were to dispute the receipt of Mrs H——'s money, you would be obliged to pay it again. Your *insisting*, as you call it, is nonsense, Mr C——. You have my receipt. The widow's money was not an hour in my house; it is in safe

* Particular licences, granted at times by the Dey to individuals.

hands, and in neither case have my executors any thing to do with it. But as to " your condescension in paying it to me, when you had no right to do it"—this, I tell you, you dare not—I repeat it to you—you dare not refuse to pay it upon my demand. I repeat it again—I am a trustee for widows and orphans. Is it not more natural I should be so, than a British subject of your principles * ? Is it right, Mr C. in your own conscience, to be so solicitous about the affairs of an heretic ? Shall I send you a copy of some certificates of your character out of my chancery book, to show how proper a man you are in point of morals for such a charge ? You, Mr C——, as you confess you have means to do it, are hereby enjoined to make out your account. If you do not, I will adjudge you to pay the sum of 8567 shillings, the sum with which you charge Mrs H—— without vouchers. Name the 1000 zermaboubs given to the treasurer, which was, I say, well given; and, over and above, state your commission at five per cent, with which you are still not contented.

(No signature.)

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* Mr C—— was a Roman Catholic.

No. XVIII*.

Mr Strange to Mr Bruce.

BOLOGNA, *Jan.* 31, 1764.

* * * You must be surprised to find, that I am still an inhabitant of Bologna; I ought to pray for the grace of resistance, for certainly hitherto I have been little endowed with it. The impossibility of my reaching London this winter has made me leave nothing behind me that would occasion a reproach. I have, however, the pleasure to acquaint you, that my departure from Italy is near at hand, being employed on my last drawing, which completes my undertaking with glory. It is no less than the St Cecilia, by Raphael, a picture which, I am satisfied, did not, at first sight, strike you more than it did me, though I have seen it repeated times. It was on approaching it with the convenience of a ladder that I first discovered its beauties; and I am satisfied, had you the same opportunity I now have of examining the original, you would own it to be one of the divinest pictures of this artist. I have lately finished the Abraham by Guerchino; but Sampieri remained inflexible with regard to the St Peter and St Paul. I shall certainly reach Paris by the end of March, or, at furthest, the beginning of April. You may naturally imagine the engagements I shall have on hand

* The five letters following were written to Mr Bruce, at Algiers, by Mr, afterwards Sir Robert Strange, then travelling in Italy and France, and by the late Mr A. Lumisden, author of "Roman Antiquities."

solicit my departure from Italy. You may expect every thing that is in my power while there, and that the ruins of Paeste interest me equally with the figures of the Justice and Meekness by Raphael.

My affairs at home go on, in general, as usual, though the demand for my works rather decreases; nothing, indeed, astonishes me more than its continuing so long as it has done. My arrival in London will, I flatter myself, give a new turn to my affairs. I have been, as usual, fortunate in meeting with a few agreeable pictures. I had brought me, a few days ago, I think, one of the divinest pictures I ever beheld, of Albani, near the size of this half sheet. I have offered for it 40 zecchins, but as yet without any success. I am now master of the king Charles, by Vandyke, which belonged to old Edgar; I have paid for it 60 guineas. I do not despair, upon the whole, of furnishing out a little collection, that, in proportion to their numbers, will compare with any in London. * * * *. I remain, dear sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

ROBERT STRANGE.

No. XIX.

Mr Lumisden to Consul Bruce.

ROME, *June* 9, 1764.

With infinite pleasure I received, my dear sir, your letter of April the 21st, and heartily congratulate with you, that your account of Paesto is so far advanced. I am extremely sensible of the fatigue, as well as difficulty, that must neces-

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] work of this kind, and the ra- [illegible] with your own hand. But [illegible] this production will give [illegible] it will justly acquire you, [illegible] You may easily [illegible] The method you have [illegible] you make of the medals, must be [illegible].

[illegible] Dance cannot attend [illegible] He may proposed to do it [illegible] unreasonably opposes it. [illegible] Bo- [illegible] me, that he had in- [illegible] Dances are now examining [illegible] for England. [illegible] though you think [illegible] yet, I can assure [illegible] one of such [illegible] question. In- [illegible] might think to- [illegible] send him [illegible] your return, the [illegible] would be over. [illegible] you [illegible] camera-ob- [illegible] of the [illegible] which we could [illegible] the optical [illegible] that it easily [illegible] inquire for [illegible] orders, I [illegible] my dear friend, [illegible] the fine arts, unite

to engage me to do every thing in my power to assist you in your laudable scheme.

Strange is now at Paris. He proposes to finish there the two prints of the Justice and Meekness which he designed in the Vatican, from Raphael. In the beginning of winter, I hope he will have the comfort to embrace his dear family. He will carry home with him a collection of drawings, I may now call them paintings, much superior to any thing of that kind ever seen in Europe, and I may add any where.

I know nothing new worth mentioning to you from this place. Since the death of Russel, Byres and Morrison have commenced antiquaries; but the former seems hitherto to have had the greatest encouragement.

You would certainly write me oftener, did you know the pleasure it gives me to hear from you, and to know the progress of your literary undertakings; for words are insufficient to express the constant affection and real esteem with which I am, my dear Sir, yours, &c.

(No signature.)

No. XX.

Mr Lumisden to Mr Bruce.

MY DEAR SIR, *Rome, Feb.* 9. 1765.

I had the pleasure to write you, on the 2d, by Leghorn, and on the 6th, by Marseilles. I have now the satisfaction to tell you, that I have just engaged for you *Signior Luigi Balugani*, " Maestra dell' Academia Clementina nell Instituto

sarily attend the executing a work of this kind, and the rather as you are obliged to do all with your own hand. But I am persuaded that the satisfaction this production will give to the public, and the reputation it will justly acquire you, will amply compensate for all your labour. You may easily believe how anxious I am to see it. The method you have laid down, and the use you make of the medals, must be equally ingenious and satisfactory.

You will have long since heard, that Dance cannot attend you in your African expedition. He only proposed to do it if his father consented, but it seems he absolutely opposes it. In the month of January I acquainted Strange, then in Bologna, of this disappointment, who wrote me, that he had informed you of it. The two Dances are now examining Naples, and I hear, that they are soon to set out for England. I heartily regret this disappointment; for, although you think Dance hardly strong enough in perspective, yet, I can assure you, that, after infinite inquiries, I can find no one of such abilities who will undertake the journey in question. Indeed, could I now find out a person whom I might think tolerably qualified, yet I could not take upon me to send him to you at a venture; and before I could have your return, the season you have fixed for your expedition would be over. Among the mathematical instruments and apparatus you carry with you, I am surprised you have not a camera-obscura. With it you might easily trace the outlines of the views and elevations you desire to have, and which you could afterwards get dressed up and corrected. For the optical error in this instrument is so inconsiderable that it easily passes unobserved. However, I shall continue to inquire for a proper artist for you, but without your positive orders, I cannot engage any. Personal affection for my dear friend, and a desire to promote the progress of the fine arts, unite

to engage me to do every thing in my power to assist you in your laudable scheme.

Strange is now at Paris. He proposes to finish there the two prints of the Justice and Meekness which he designed in the Vatican, from Raphael. In the beginning of winter, I hope he will have the comfort to embrace his dear family. He will carry home with him a collection of drawings, I may now call them paintings, much superior to any thing of that kind ever seen in Europe, and I may add any where.

I know nothing new worth mentioning to you from this place. Since the death of Russel, Byres and Morrison have commenced antiquaries; but the former seems hitherto to have had the greatest encouragement.

You would certainly write me oftener, did you know the pleasure it gives me to hear from you, and to know the progress of your literary undertakings; for words are insufficient to express the constant affection and real esteem with which I am, my dear Sir, yours, &c.

(No signature.)

No. XX.

Mr Lumisden to Mr Bruce.

MY DEAR SIR, *Rome, Feb.* 9. 1765.

I had the pleasure to write you, on the 2d, by Leghorn, and on the 6th, by Marseilles. I have now the satisfaction to tell you, that I have just engaged for you *Signior Luigi Balugani*, " Maestra dell' Academia Clementina nell Instituto

della Scienza en Bologna." This young man, I flatter myself, will be able to serve you in your present undertaking. He is certainly the best qualified of any I can find here. He has lived several years in Rome, in the house of Conte Ranuzzi of Bologna. This gentleman gives him the best of characters with regard to p ivate life, as well as diligence. He is now etching on copper the outlines of a view of the inside of St Peter's for the *Camera*, which will be finished in a few days; and on the 20th inst. he goes to Florence with the French courier, from whence he will go directly to Leghorn, to embark for Algiers. I have, on this occasion taken the advice of Messrs Walker and Byres. We have done the best in our power to serve you; and indeed there are few people in the world for whom I would have undertaken such a commission; and by it I give you a real proof of my friendship. Perhaps you may think the terms high, but there was no possibility of serving you more frugally. For no person of any kind of reputation would leave his business (how small soever) and his country for a year, for less encouragement. You will see, by the inclosed paper, the conditions agreed on, and which you will no doubt ratify. Balugani engages to serve you a year at the rate of 85 Roman crowns per month, with table, and the expence of his journies defrayed. As he had some debts here, and other expences to be at, he would not engage without having three months pay by advance; in order, therefore, not to delay his journey, and consequently your undertaking, I shall advance him 105 Roman crowns, for which with your conveniency, you may send me a credit on Leghorn, or any where else. I shall write a line to Lefroy and Charron, along with the young man, that they may pay the expence of his journey, and provide what is necessary for him whilst at Leghorn. I am persuaded that you will easily find sufficient employment for him for a year. Besides making out the clear drawings for you, he is able to trace them on copper, being accustomed to

etch in that manner. What he seems most defective in is figures, in which you must assist him yourself, or have them afterwards re-touched. In short, it is impossible to find you any one artist complete in all the parts you may desire. I shall be infinitely anxious to hear of his arrival, and to have your approbation of what I have done for you. In the mean time, I embrace you most affectionately, and ever am, with the greatest friendship and esteem, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

ANDREW LUMISDEN.

No. XXI.

Mr Lumisden to Mr Bruce.

DEAR SIR, ROME, *July* 13, 1766.

It gave me great pleasure to receive your obliging letter of April 26, and to know that Monsieur de Balugani had safely reached you. Defective as he is in figures and ornaments, he was, in the opinion of all my acquaintance, the properest person here, who would undertake to serve you. Few people, who have any kind of business, would abandon it for the space of an African journey, for, perhaps, double the wages, high as they are, which you give Balugani. Indeed, I flatter myself, that under your direction and with your assistance, he will execute your plan in such a manner, as will procure you reputation, and give satisfaction to the public. You will do me a very particular pleasure to write me often, the progress you make, and what places you have visited. Mess.

Belli, &c. have re-paid me the 105 crowns I advanced to Balugani, whose receipt you will find inclosed.

I have been at much pains to inquire at the booksellers for the books you want. After all, I could only get Cluverius's introduction to Geography; but my worthy friend, Mr Wagstaff, was so kind as give me out of his library, La Croix's account of Africa, in four vols. in 12mo. These books, carefully put up in a small case, I have sent to Leghorn to Messrs Belli, &c. to be forwarded to you as you direct. I wish I could have got for you Granage, Cellarius, and Procopius. If, by accident, I find them soon, I shall send them to you. Rome is but a bad market for books of belles lettres and profane learning; but if you want scholastic divinity and canon law, you may be provided here.

I long to receive your account of Paesto. Dumont, a French architect, formerly in their academy here, has published at Paris plans and elevations of these temples, but without any description of them. They are but poorly executed, as is another work on the same subject, and likewise without any account, published lately at Naples by Merghen. I am told that neither of them are exact. These publications will be no disadvantage to you; they will only whet the appetite of the public to see something more complete and satisfactory.

We had last winter many travellers here; but they are now all gone. Amongst others was Lord Mountstuart, attended by colonel Edmondston, and Mr Mallet of Geneva, who wrote the history of Denmark. His lordship cut a great figure; is a genteel young man, but seems to have little taste for the fine arts. Robert Strange went to London in the spring, and published Raphael's two figures in the Vatican, viz. Justice and Meekness. I reckon he is by this time returned back to Paris, where he proposes to engrave two pie-

ces from Guercino, viz. Esther before Ahasuerus, in the Barbarini palace here, and the Abraham and Hagar at Bologna. All your friends here offer you their kind compliments, and with the warmest sentiments of affection and esteem I constantly am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ANDREW LUMISDEN.

No. XXII.

Mr Strange to Mr Bruce.

DEAR SIR, LONDON, *July* 25, 1766.

The agreeable accounts I had lately from Mr Frazer *, relating to your welfare, gave me a pleasure I have been long a stranger to; and the hopes he has flattered me with of your speedy return to England. I have been often anxious to hear of you; your stay in Africa has, I find, by much exceeded the time you set aside for that journey. Your acquisitions during that period must be numerous and interesting, and of importance both to yourself and the public. I long greatly to see them; nay, even to assist you towards the completion of a work which must reflect equal honour both on the author and his country. When you return from Africa, I hope you will not fail to visit Florence. Mr Frazer assures me of your intention to see Venice; and the former, you know, is but a step from thence, and may be accomplished in a few days. My motives for advising you, you are no

* Consul at Tripoli.

stranger to. It is my opinion you should improve every advantage from our friend, the cook, who amazes all I know, and is the person best qualified for properly assisting and even enriching your important labours. Your work of Paesto has been long executed, even to the very time you limited me when we last parted at Florence. I never doubted but your friends in England, who were to be charged with the remainder of the work, had all in readiness at my return to London, January was a twelvemonth; but, on my conversing with Mr Hamilton, I found it otherwise. The plates before that time were consigned to Mr Ballantyne at Boulogne, as you may remember we concerted. They are yet in his possession, and, I presume, will remain so till your return to England. I make no doubt of their giving you that satisfaction you could wish for; be assured, that in the executing of them they were equally interesting to me, with my other engagements. Since my return from Italy, I have spent a considerable part of my time in Paris towards forwarding my great work. I have many plates in hand; but have hitherto only published the two figures of the Justice and Meekness from Raphael. By next winter I shall have four in readiness, viz. the Abraham pulling away Hagar in the Sampieri palace at Bologna; Esther before Ahasuerus, in the Barbarini palace at Rome, both by Guerchino; the Aldovrando Cupid by Guido, and the fourth a Madona and child, from another picture of Guido, in my own possession. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have made many valuable acquisitions towards my completing my collection of pictures, and I may affirm, that, in proportion of number, it will vie with most collections I know of in this country. They mostly, as yet, remain in Paris, from whence I shall transport them next winter. To my want of health is chiefly owing my paying a visit to London at this season. I

propose returning to Paris in a month or so hence, and shall finally transport myself here as early in the winter as possible.

Our friend, Mylne, is advancing in his great work with that security and honour which his most sanguine friends could wish him. He is now about the sixth arch, and, if he is not interrupted, by want of stone, a few years more must complete the work. We are certainly in this country gaining ground in the progress of the arts; the encouragement given is chiefly from individuals; for the hopes once entertained ***, are pretty much over: Dalton, &c. &c. are, as usual, his favourites. I was agreeably surprised at seeing one exhibition here since my return from Italy; I saw that at Paris for the subsequent year, and if we set aside two of the French artists, viz. Vernet and Greuse, the former exhibition will by far claim the preference. I flatter myself this letter will stand a better chance of reaching you than several I have wrote; for, since we parted at Florence, I have never had a return to any I have wrote you, which makes me doubt much of their having reached you. Mrs Strange is well, and desires much to be remembered to you; for myself I shall only add, I shall be proud of every opportunity of testifying the sincere sense with which I remain, Dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

ROBERT STRANGE.

No. XXIII.

Mr Bruce to Mr Wood.

SIR, TUNIS, *April* 2. 1766.

The last time I did myself the honour of writing to you was before the final adjusting of the king's affairs relating to passports at Algier, when, upon intimation of Mr Cleveland's coming out thither, I mentioned to you my apprehension of that gentleman's misbehaviour. The event has justified my prophecy; every thing has been either given up, or left unsettled, without the smallest satisfaction, or even acknowledgement of error on the part of the Algerines, from a consideration of some licences for loading corn granted to him and his associates, which the Dey himself, though benefited by, yet, in contempt of his behaviour, recalled, and annulled the day after he sailed; and obliged the Swedish consul and his brother, his counsellors and partners in the adventure, forthwith to quit Algiers. Being, after the departure of the Phœnix, at liberty to set out on my voyage, and the Dey having, in the most obliging manner, furnished me with letters to the governors of all his provinces, and to the Bey of Tunis, I set out in the end of August from Algiers, and it being then too hot to proceed by land, besides that I wanted several little necessaries, I took the opportunity of a ship for Mahon, and thence, without being admitted to quarantine, proceeded to Tunis.

I began my journey by land the middle of September by Keff to Constantina; but the Moors between those two pla-

ces being then in rebellion, after having the mortification of seeing part of the frize of the temple of Venus (Keff, as you know, was the Sicca Venerea), so mutilated, that no idea could be formed of it, and having delineated the only three figures that remained on a part of the frize of the temple of Hercules, I turned eastward to Spaitla, the ancient Sufetula, where I knew there was what would occupy me for some time; and I was not mistaken. Having delineated, measured, and minuted every thing of any worth, as well there as in all the other places of the neighbourhood, I returned, and proceeded to Constantina, where I arrived safely, but with difficulty enough.

The Bey was gone out with his camp; but, having advice of my coming from Algier, he had left orders to have every thing ready for my reception. We were lodged in his own palace, and treated with the utmost magnificence, as well as the greatest attention, and six chosen Moorish horse well acquainted with the language and the country, for the language is in many places difficult, appointed to accompany me wherever I intended to go. With these I went to every place of note through that province, even through the mountainous, and hitherto thought inaccessible parts of it; and advanced into the desert to the southward, till we wanted water, and, indeed, every thing else. I then turned N. E. and coasted along the desert to the frontiers of Tunis, resting a little at Cafsa, one of the principal cities of Jugurtha. From this I again took to the desert standing due south-east, steering always in a sea of land by compass and observation, intending to have fetched Tripoly; but we were here again obstructed by the Moors, and not knowing the wells which are kept always covered with camel's hides, we were obliged to cross the mountains of Atlas, and continue our course to

Girba, a fruitful island of Tunis, the Meninx of the Lotophagi, three days journey distance, but then in sight.

Here I was surprised to find myself among men of a different species, not living in tents, or in mud-walled cottages, as the Arabs do; but in caves under ground as the Troglodytes of old. Mela says of these that they lived in caves, and fed upon serpents; if he had said fed together with serpents, his description had been just; for these are so many in every habitation, and so familiar, that at each meal they come and pick up what falls from the dish, like dogs. Some of them are seven feet in length; but to these people so harmless that, even trod upon accidentally, they do not sting, and there is not any person of the family who will not with their hands lift them out of their way, when sleeping, or in any manner troublesome. No persuasion nor reward could induce them to let me carry away one of them; it being universally believed that they are a kind of good angels, whom it would be the highest impropriety, and of the worst consequence to the community, to remove from their dwelling. Upon our arrival at Girba, we found that the Beys of Tunis had prepared a house for us, and sent from his own palace every sort of refreshment that he could devise, with orders to receive us with every possible honour, and furnish us with what we required at his expence. Here I staid a month with an intention to proceed to Tripoly, through the desert, making fair copies of my minutes and designs, and having sent back to Tunis two of my spachis, who had been wounded, and one that was afraid to go further. I sent a letter to Mr Frazer, the consul at Tripoly, desiring an escort, as I was now reduced to nine men in all, seven of whom, though indeed resolute people, and well armed, were incumbered with the mules and camels, which carried our tents and provisions; the other two were an

English servant and a renegado, my drugoman, who, with myself, were the only three mounted on horses, and at liberty.

No return came from Tripoly; for the Bey being on ill terms with the consul, though he promised, he would not send any escort. Myself and servants did indeed most rashly attempt to pass the desert, inhabited only by ruffians and assassins, who pay no sort of acknowledgement to any sovereign, and where the caravan from Morocco to Mecca, which we found near Tripoly, had been defeated and plundered, though they amounted to upwards of 3000 men. Nor did we escape; for the night of the third day we were attacked by a number of horsemen, and four of our men killed upon the spot. Providence, the prodigious resolution of our little company, and the night, saved the remainder, and we arrived at Tripoly, when given over by every body for lost. The Consul complained heavily to the Basha, who excused himself poorly. I am persuaded he would have laid the blame upon Mr Frazer, if any accident had befallen us. I cannot mention this gentleman without regretting that he is, as I hear, recalled upon a complaint of the Basha of Tripoly, who after many other irregularities, at last confined him to his house. This grand complaisance to these Barbary gentlemen, who answer the complaints for national grievances by personal exceptions against the consul, will soon have the effect to make neutral freighters believe that our flag is insecure, and without protection, and will in the end certainly throw all this caravan trade into the hands of the French, who support their consul and colours with the utmost spirit, both at Tunis and Tripoly.

His royal highness the duke of York, having given orders to Commodore Harrison to desire, in his name, that all encouragement and assistance might be given me in my journey from each of these regencies; and that gentleman, being

soon expected at Tripoly, I left a letter for him, begging him to obtain of the bashaw of Tripoly the same liberty I had in Algiers and Tunis, to visit the antiquities of the kingdom; after which I returned along the coasts of the lesser Syrtis down to Cape Bon, the Promontorium Mercurii; from thence again arrived at Tunis, after an absence of more than six months constantly encamped.

It is now time to mention how that space has been employed, and whether my expectations have been answered by the antiquities I have found in my journey. The principal are these: eight triumphal arches of the Corinthian order, mostly of different plans and designs, and little ruined; seven Corinthian temples in great preservation, all highly ornamented and of the very best ages, whose plans, parts, and decorations, I have by very laborious searches and excavations made myself entirely master of; add to these one large temple of the Composite order, in its best age; one part of which is so perfectly preserved, that it must be looked upon as an unexceptionable example of the manner in which the ancients disposed and proportioned the constituent parts of that order, and two large aqueducts, the smallest of which exceeds by forty-two feet in perpendicular height the remains of the highest aqueduct in Rome. In these designs are included the ruins of the three principal cities of Africa, namely, Iol, or Julia Caesarea the capital of Juba, Cirta, and Carthage; the last of which, I hope, will be found to make a better figure than it does in the accounts of some travellers, who would persuade us there are no traces of that city remaining.

The drawings are 16 inches by 12, which, taking the length and the breadth, are the largest ever published, and will make three volumes, each about the size of Mr Le Roy's Antiquities of Greece, or something larger. I bestowed my utmost care and attention on them, and may

safely say, I have not left in the parts I have visited one stone undesigned, whence any benefit could result to the arts.

I have corrected and cleared up many passages of the Antonine Itinerary, Peutinger's tables and Ptolemy, as well as of Sanson, Nollin, and Dibbler's French maps, all by actual observation; and, if ever I have time, hope to give a large map of Africa, that will show how much the gentlemen abovementioned have wrote by hearsay, or imagination.

I have collected about three hundred medals of all kinds, many of which are curious, though I have not had time to consider them; some large medallion vases and statues of bronze, all in good taste; and have copied about one thousand inscriptions.

And, lastly, I have not entirely neglected, but have made about thirty drawings of the rarest animals, insects, birds, and plants of this country, particularly the interior and remote parts of it, all in their natural colours.

As soon as Mr Harrison has obtained leave for me, I return to Tripoly; from thence I intend to visit the ruins of Leptis Magna; go round the gulf of Sidra, or Syrtis Major, to Berenice, Arsinoe, Cyrene, Ptolemais, Barca Apollonia, down to Darne. There I shall finish; for however my desire might be to continue my researches till I saw the end of Africa at the pyramids, as this is part of Mr Montague's * design, I would not in any manner seem to interfere with it, as I willingly confess he is in every respect my superior both in capacity and preparation.

I hope you will do me the justice to believe, from what I have mentioned, that nothing in my power has been omitted to comply with what you recommended to me on my leaving England, viz. that I would endeavour to make large ex-

* E. W. Montague. brother-in-law to the Earl of Bute, and well known for his eccentric profligate character.

cursions into this country. These, though terminated to my satisfaction, have been so continually attended with every kind of danger, hardship, and difficulty, that no consideration possible would make me again repeat the journey I have now finished. Often beset with, and constantly in fear of, the wandering Arabs, the most brutal set of barbarous wretches ever I believe existed; constantly parched with heat, or dying with extreme cold; exposed many times to the risk of dying with thirst, though perpetually in view of large quantities of water, equal in saltness to the sea; in the northern parts in constant danger from tigers, lions, and panthers; in the south afraid of every creature, where the smallest insect is endowed with some noxious quality: scorpions and horned vipers are in such abundance that of the former thirty-five were killed in and about my tent an hour after it was pitched. And when, in the evening of a sultry day, we had the comfort of a fresh breeze, we were hindered from enjoying it, by reflecting, that if it increased we might, while asleep, be buried in the showers of sand it carries along with it. But the greatest discouragement of all is the little countenance given by government to such undertakings. Asia has been, and I hope will still further be, by your endeavours, so freed from that obscurity in which her antiquities were buried, that the public has nothing further to wish, but that you may have time to finish your publications. Greece has been wore thread-bare by late publications. Rome is, and will be still further in the same situation, while Africa, at our very door, but two short days journey from France and Italy, has been till now looked upon as a place into which it was rashness to penetrate * * * * *.

* This letter is unfinished in the copy preserved among Mr Bruce's papers. It is obvious that he exaggerated the difficulties of travelling in Barbary, with a view to attract the notice of some people then in power; but with little success.

No. XXIV.

Narrative of Mr Bruce's journies to Baalbec and Palmyra.

SIDON, *Sept.* 16. 1767.

Set out this day for Baalbec; crossed the river of Sidon, holding east along the river to the foot of Mount Libanus. In two hours and a half arrived at Ajon; from thence passing the several stations mentioned in the map, through a road extremely rough, and full of precipices, we arrived at six o'clock at Badera, the house of Shekh Ali Gimblatt. At eleven next day we continued on our journey, through worse road, if possible, than the day before. Passed Barooch, a small miserable village, and about two miles above it saw the source of the river of Sidon, and lay all night in a stable at a miserable, and almost abandoned village of Druses, called Kefferay.

The 18th, at four in the morning, left Kefferay; beginning now to descend Mount Libanus in very difficult road; at seven came, without knowing previously, upon a body of Druses, with their prince, or ẹmir, who waited at a fountain the arrival of Emir Yousef, then on his march from the conquest of Baalbec, where he had banished the former prince, Emir Heydar, and placed in his stead Emirs Ali and Mahomet, his brother. The princes and people of Baalbec are Mutuali, of the sect of Ali, which is the religion of the Persians. Half an hour after met Emir Yousef with the green

ensign flying before him, and received his letters and passport for Baalbec. Lay this night at one of the sources of the river Casimiah, at a convent of Maronites, near a village called Zahala. by Mr Wood, Zikely, (*vide* History of Baalbec) in a valley of Mount Libanus, which mountain we descended before noon, and came into a plain at a small village, called Cabalias.

The 19th, in the forenoon, arrived at Baalbec.

At Zahala the mountains of Libanus begin to be of rich mould, and are all cultivated. Every valley has a stream running through it into the plain, and every stream on its side a village, where the people live in a sort of independence, under protection of the Druses, in free exercise of their religion whatever it is, and out of reach of the oppressions of the neighbouring bashas of Tripoly, Seide, and Damascus, in the centre of which they are. The plain below is called the Bekka, at the north end of which stands the town of Baalbec, with a considerable stream, which, rising at Ras-el-Ain, about one half of a mile east of the town, divides near the court of the great temple, one branch running south, the other west, which is drunk up in the gardens.

The plain of Bekka is the Coelosyria of ancient historians; it is bounded on the other side by a ridge of mountains parallel to Mount Libanus through which we came, and is the Antilibanus; it seems to be of the same nature and difficult access as the former. Over it lies the road to Damascus, about fourteen leagues distance. We saw no snow in the passage of the mountains, nor do the springs seem to owe their water to the meltings of the snow, as Mr Wood supposes, for they ran very plentifully at this season; but, on the top of the high mountain north-west of Baalbec, there still remained a considerable quantity. The harvest was not finished; here we began immediately the measuring and de-

lineating the remains of ancient architecture, and comparing the general measures in the plan and elevations Messrs Wood and Dawkins have given the public, and these are our remarks which follow:

N. B. Cælo-syria Proper is probably *this* plain; but Cælo-syria, in general, probably means all that part of Syria situated in the plain. The form of mount Libanus, as seen from the plain of Bekka, is this: first, a ridge of mountains extremely proper for culture, and of no considerable height, sloping easily to the plain, and covered with trees that are not very thickly planted; on the other side of these rises a chain of mountains of an extraordinary height, bare for the most part, and stony, cut in every direction by deep rain, and covered with snow, unless in the summer. Thus they continue, till they descend much more steeply on the other side towards the sea. The vallies within these high chains of mountains, which on one side run parallel to the sea-coast, and on the other form the east side of the plain of Bekka, are mostly narrow, but abundantly fertile, were they in the hands of better people, under a better Government; industry being always here followed by oppression.

I saw no ruins nor vestiges of cities in Cælo-syria, nor in the valleys, nor are any villages built there, as all the low grounds in Syria are unhealthy, and it was probably so in all times.

Palmyra is twenty hours, or about sixty miles east of Carieteen, all which distance must be passed over without water. It is situated in a plain surrounded on the west and north with mountains, and open on the south and east; to the south is the Subkah, or valley of salt. There is no habitation, or village, nearer than Carieteen, except the tents of the Arabs Mutuali, Amour, and Annecy, of which the Amour are the only constant inhabitants; the other two re-

tiring towards the end of October, the one to Zoar near Aleppo, the other, the Annecy, to Auran.

The mountains which surround Palmyra are the Antilibanus; it is on our right, or to the south, all our road from Carieteen to this city, which is known to the Arabs by no name but that of Thedmor.

The principal ruins are the temple of the sun with its portico; the great portico, which traversed the town in a south-east and north-west direction, and several small temples, or sepulchres, supported by columns.

The gate of the portico has but one of the jamms or stipites, any way entire; the cornice above the other jamm is perfectly defaced, and appears to have been so for ages. The ornaments of this are both designed and executed in the greatest taste; but the marble is of a bad quality, and has not faithfully preserved it. The niches too of the two wings of the portico are existing; but the ornaments are entirely lost. It is covered by a modern wall, which serves it as a gateway between which you pass to enter the village. The part where the portico is most entire is at the south-east angle, where remains a very considerable number of columns which go to the north and to the west; those which run westerly have the frize and cornice very much ornamented; some very large flowers in great relief still remain; but the whole festoon, or stalk, which connected them, is utterly ruined, nor is it possible to investigate it truly enough to design it.—The extremity of this range of columns near the west angle remains likewise; but none of those parts are remaining in the order in which they are placed in Mr Wood's plan of the portico.

The temple of the sun is very much ruined. Of its peristyle there only remain ** columns entire, Corinthian, fluted, and very elegant, though apparently of slenderer pro-

portion than ten diameters. Their capitals are quite destroyed. The ornaments of the outer gate are some of them perfectly well designed, but the whole very ill executed. The two columns inserted in the walls are of the Ionic order; their capitals are of all possible beauty, both as to the execution and design: the fusts of these are fluted likewise. The large rose in the soffite, on the right hand on entering, is tolerably well executed, but the other indifferently. The eagle on the architrave of the entrance is not in the attitude as in Mr Wood's design, but has its wings spread the whole length of the stone; his body occupying the center, and his head looking forwards without the architrave.

In general, although of all the buildings in Palmyra, the temple of the sun is that whose ornamental parts chiefly exist, yet they are by no means in the number in which they are published in Mr Wood's account; and even of these, the interior part, the most considerable for number, is very poorly imagined, in most places, and in all ill executed.

The large portico has neither in its frize nor architrave any thing that can be distinguished of ornament; the same may be said of all the other buildings; for, except the four pedestals in the middle of the portico, where there are pieces of large cornice remaining, the sculpture at the end, with part of its tympanum, and a heap of ruins of a building near it, where there is a large inscription, Greek and Palmyrene; there is not another piece of ornament existing either on the ground or in its place; I should except the large arch, and a smaller one in the file of columns of the portico. The portico is not in a straight line, it makes several angles; it likewise parted to right and left in several branches which ran across the city. That which Mr Wood takes to be columns, in form of a circus, is nothing more than one of these transversal branches, which being thrown down just after it had made an angle, gives it that circular appearance; but the ves-

tiges of the continuation of its range are very distinct, and its corresponding at the arch in the long file where it begins, and the large building where apparently it was to end, sufficiently show this.

The small pedestals, which are inserted in the columns of the portico, are not all in the same line, but are continued in a line correspondent to the impost of the arch, which intercepts the file, and then begin again to the height of the other.

Palmyra is no where covered with sand nor rubbish as in other ruins. The desert that surrounds it is rather gravel than sand, and is therefore not easily removed. The mountains are perfectly bare, and produce nothing; the people very miserable, and are the race of all the neighbouring Arabs mixed together. They are governed by a Shekh and Sourbachi, dependant on the Aga of Hassia, whose Melkana or Fief it is, together with Hassia, Sudud, Howarura, Carietein, and Mehein, in order that he may keep up a number of Spachis for the protection of caravans and passengers. But the present Mahomet, very different from his father Solyman, is so weak, covetous, and little esteemed, that the whole country is now at the discretion of the Arabs, and not so much as a shadow of government maintained; so that this voyage to Palmyra, if we consider its expence, the inevitable danger of the road, and the no less danger while here, may be deemed one of those that are impracticable. They pay no regard to any command or superior, and there is no sort of oppression and robbery we did not suffer from the Sourbachi Shekh of Tedmor, and that of Carieteen, though this last was our conductor and protector, and though we had with us fourteen armed servants of the Aga. It rained four days here very violently, the 21st to the 24th of October; the mornings excessive cold till nine o'clock *.

* This narrative is the only record which Mr Bruce wrote of his journey to Baalbec and Palmyra, except a few short notes. It contains some

NO. XXV.

Mr Bruce to Mr Strange.

DEAR SIR, SIDON, *May* 10. 1768.

I cannot sufficiently regret the very bad fortune that has attended our correspondence. I have wrote from every place where it was possible, from Algiers, Tunis, Tripoly, Bengazi in Africa, from the island of Candia, and here from Sidon twice; once before, and once since my return from Palmyra; on the other hand, I have never received but one from you besides your last from London, dated July 25th 1766, which I may reckon half miscarried, as I did not receive it till the 18th of last month, nearly two years since it was wrote. The same has, I believe, attended my other letters; for it is impossible that some which I have wrote should not have been answered.

I thank you a thousand times for your offers of assistance, which I shall very much need; my works are nearly as voluminous as yours; I wish they resembled them in something else as they do in that. I will not trouble you with a list of them, as I have hitherto given it in every letter I have wrote; and I hope some of these may at last find you, as yours, after two years wandering, has at last reached me. I shall only say, that, as far as I know, I have not left undesigned in Asia or

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observations on Mr Wood's work, which Mr Bruce suppressed out of friendship for that gentleman, but which may now be published without doing injury to either.

Africa one stone from which any thing may be learned; and I am now ready to embark for Egypt to do the same there. I shall advance up to the cataracts from Cairo, I shall cross Arabia by land to Jerusalem, and so through Syria into Mesopotamia and Armenia, in some part of which, as far to the north-east as possible, I shall take my station, to observe the transit of Venus in June next year *; after which, having left nothing undone that was in my power to do, I shall come home through Asia Minor, and to Constantinople, through Macedonia to Ragusa, where I intend to perform quarantine; and then, without stopping, shall continue my journey to England, submitting all I have done to the judgment of my friends, though very little anxious whether it ever appear to the world. The pleasure and instruction I have received from collecting them, has more than paid me all the pains they have cost me, and I hope they will be a considerable part of my amusement the rest of my life. I heard, while I was at Aleppo, that a society of lovers of the arts were to send an artist out to make drawings, and collect antiquities in the Levant, and were to give him a L. 1000 per annum. I believe it will be full as advantageous to the arts that this was not done; as it will but disappoint my endeavours, and as it will be impossible for any stranger ignorant of the customs and language, ever to penetrate into the dangerous and difficult places from whence I have drawn some of my most valuable acquisitions. Syria has indeed made me pay dearly; I have been at death's door of a fever, and have had five relapses; it is an unwholesome climate, and full of bad air.

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* This passage gave rise to the report industriously circulated by Montague and others, that Mr Bruce went into Armenia instead of Habbesh.

You are so kind as to say you will assist me in my works. I have made twelve drawings of Palmyra, and four of Baalbec. I say to you, and hope it will not therefore be thought vanity, since I say it to no one else, they are by much the most magnificent views that have ever appeared. I have not meddled with regular architecture or description out of regard to Mr Wood, but I have represented these ruins in the most advantageous points of view; they are in size, inches, 24½ length, by 16.5 breadth, and I have collected for them figures in all the different dresses of the Levant. What do you say to go halves in the publication? I desire only your superintending the engraving; I assure you they never shall be published unless under your auspices. I may say every drawing has been purchased by the risk of my life; for we were in returning saved from assassination as by a miracle.

I intend to take Sicily in my way home; if I remember, I have heard you say, that our friend Mr Milne had some intention to publish a work upon the remains of architecture in Sicily; I surely did not dream it. Pray let me know if it is so, for so very far am I from wishing to interfere with him, that if he shall find any thing new in the drawings I shall make, they shall be at his service, and I shall disown them. It gives me great pleasure to hear how well his work advances, and that it will answer expectation. I have never doubted it would do so from the first. Nothing is more just than the present distribution. Other architects are employed in paving streets, while he is reserved for bridges and palaces. You see we know a little of what is passing; nay, I could tell you news of your own performances that would make you vain, were you not so much spoilt by praises already. In the house of a French merchant * with whom I lodged at Alep-

* Mr Belville.

po, and who has now finished his house, I saw a room allotted entirely for your works; all were commissioned from France, and part arrived, among whom was your sleeping child by Guido; do not think I mean by this that they were sent for by my recommendation; I assure you no; it is his own taste that determined him, and a very good one he has, and excellent collections both of natural history and antiquities. All that I contributed, was a copy of your St Cæcilia in water-colours, placed over the chimney, with a Latin inscription in honour of the master of the house's judgment, and the engraver's abilities. I dare say you laugh when I talk of copying your St Cæcilia; I hope one day or other to make you own you are mistaken. In all the English houses of Aleppo, I did not see one of your prints; fye upon us! I for my part lead the life of a robber rather than of an English traveller, sculking in the convents and caverns of Mount Libanus, that I may give myself entirely to my business.

What you say of our advancement of the arts gives me great pleasure, and heartily am I sorry, on the other hand, that the encouragement comes not from the king as from the public. We shall never do any thing lasting till that is the case. See what royal encouragement did in a long reign in France; we have certainly a greater elevation of genius than that light unsettled nation; and yet, till within these very few years, painting, drawing, and engraving, were no where to be seen, in any tolerable degree of perfection, but in France, not even in Italy.

I hear that the engraving of my prints of Paesto at Paris has not only procured an edition, but likewise that Mr Soufflot is engraving and printing, by subscription, at London, a work on my plan precisely. I suppose in your absence he has seen my prints, and probably copied them; pray let me know how this is, and whether you have not in some review or magazine given the public some notice that it may wait

for mine. I did not dare require the manuscript, as I had never an answer to my letters; and since the fair copy was lost in a bark shipwrecked in the Gulf of Sidra, together with my quadrant, telescopes and other instruments, which had cost me a considerable sum, I have copied anew my Paesto, and it is now quite ready, but I have some thoughts of joining to it the ruins in Sicily. I long much to see your collection of pictures; did you leave my two little landscapes by Albani at Boulogne? The arts in Italy have suffered by the death of Don Philip, from whom I received more civilities than ever yet I did from any prince. I beg my kindest compliments to Mrs Strange, and my namesake Brucy, whom I suppose by this time married; let me hear from you all in a letter that regards only yourselves and your works, for I am not curious about any thing else. I shall write you from Egypt, where I shall endeavour to produce something more tolerable than Dalton's Pyramids; I beg you will send me your address, for I do not remember it, having never seen your new house. I direct to Mr Drummond, Charing Cross. Direct to me, to the care of M. De Fort, Consul de France, à Alexandria. I am always, with the greatest regard and esteem, my dear sir, your most affectionate and most obedient humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. XXVI.

Letters of Mr Price to Mr Bruce at Gondar *.

DEAR SIR, JIDDA, 20*th January*, 1770.

Your favour of the first October did not come to hand till the 10th of December, since which no opportunity has offered to answer it till now.

I am exceedingly glad to hear you are in health, and in a fair way of accomplishing the end of your fatiguing voyage; I sincerely hope you will succeed to the utmost of your wishes; and return in perfect health to your native country, and dear friends.

I am very sorry that it is not in my power to assist you with a tube for your barometer, having no such thing, nor is it possible to get one from India, or any other part, sooner than March 1771; but you may depend, should any such thing come in any of the ships here, that I will procure it for you and send it with the Patriarch. He is now here waiting for Metical Aga coming down. I have no Old Testament, but will send you a Bible, which I hope will answer the purpose. You may depend I will get you well recommended to the

* These four letters were written to Mr Bruce in Abyssinia, by Captain Price of the Lion of Bombay East Indiaman. For a character of this gentleman, vide Travels, Vol. VI. pp. 183, 184, and passim. To the benevolence and generosity which made him the friend of Mr Bruce, the public is indirectly indebted for these volumes and whatever information they contain.

Patriarch, and will use my best endeavours to explain to him who you are, and your principles of religion, and the motives of your voyage.

Mahomet Tobal is here, and desires his compliments. I have showed him your box; I will not neglect when he comes to take it away, to give him and his servants strict charge with it; at which time I will give him your letters.

Inclosed is a letter from Cairo.

I bless God I have had my health indifferent well since you left us; but my house has not been free a day from the fever. Haverkam and Potter are both well, and beg you will accept of their best wishes for your health.

I have met with many disagreeable things since you were here, but there is no redress; for they do with us and our cargoes just what they please. But I hope in God I shall live to see the day when some of our countrymen will convince them of their error. To add to my troubles, I have not sold a piece of goods, nor do I believe I shall till the Hadge *. Here are nine ships arrrived from Suez, and another daily expected with the Bashaw †.

I hope, if you recollect any thing that you may want, you will not scruple to send; for, believe me, Sir, I shall with pleasure comply with any commands. I conclude with my sincere wishes for your health, and am with respect, Sir, your most obedient servant, THOMAS PRICE.

DEAR SIR, *February* 4. 1770.

The inclosed was wrote to send by a boat which was to have sailed for Loheia twenty days ago, but one of the people dying, she was stopped. I there informed you the Patriarch was waiting for the Metical Aga's coming down, when I should get you properly recommended. But hearing that he was to leave Jidda in a few days, I thought it best to wait on

* Arrival of the pilgrims.

† See the Aga's letter to the Naybe of Masuah.

him, which I did, and he has promised to order you every service in his power. When I mentioned sending to Metical Aga for a letter in your favour, he said there was not the least occasion for it, as my waiting on him had answered every purpose, and I might depend you should have free liberty to go just where you please, and have all the assistance in his power.

But as I well know there is no recommendation so likely to succeed with most of the gentlemen of his cloth, as that which is backed with something very good for the back or the belly, I gave him an invitation to breakfast, and on his going away, presented him with a small matter out of my cargo by way of a keepsake. As there is no ship arrived from India, I can say nothing to the tube for your barometer, but you may depend on having one, if any such thing comes.

I hope long before this comes to hand, you will be safe arrived in a Christian country; although I much doubt the accounts we have published, being very erroneous, but I think it is not possible for it to be more disagreeable than this place: For it is not only the oppression of the government, there are many other disagreeable things, and we are locked from all manner of news, and in a manner prisoners in our own houses, which will make a long letter very acceptable; and I hope you will give us some account of the country and people. Pray give our joint compliments to Signor Luigi; you have my sincere wishes for a continuance of your health, and believe me, I am, with respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

THOMAS PRICE *.

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* The Patriarch, spoken of in this letter, was a new Abuna, who was going from Egypt to Habbesh, by the usual way of Jidda. He was escorted to Dixan, or Adowa, by one Jawher, a servant of the Aga. This was the Abuna, who behaved so singularly at the battle of Serbraxos. Vol. vi. p. 162.

To J. B. Esq. JIDDA, 10*th March*, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

Yours from Adowa of January 1st I received the 21st February, and am happy in hearing you are in health, and in so fair a prospect of succeeding to your wishes.

Agreeable to your desire, I got your letter to the Selidar translated, which I sent him, and desired he would send me letters for you to Sennaar, which he has done, and they come inclosed. I have likewise sent to the Vizir for others, which he has promised to send.

In regard to your commission, I have used my best endeavours to execute it as near your orders as I possibly could, and sincerely hope it will come safe to your hands.

You desired I would buy you a piece of Surat stuff, value about 60 dollars, but as there seldom come any which are so high priced, or of the length you mention, (although I acknowledge I do not know what you mean by a peek, but I imagine it to be about ⅔ of our yard;) therefore I inquired what was proper for Sennaar, and they informed me, that what I have sent was usually sent there. I hope it will answer better being three pieces than one; they cost just sixty dollars, and are exceeding cheap; for they are generally sold for eighty cruz a-piece, but having a Surat man in the house, I got them cheaper. As the beads did not come to much, I ventured to send your four strings of different sizes; and as to your knives, I am just as much at a loss what a para is as I was about peeks, but I made all the inquiry I could, and was informed those I sent are of the right sort; the blue cloths you wrote for are too dear here.

The Selidar's servant that went with you is not returned to Jidda yet, nor have I received any letters from you since you left us, except one from Mussoua, and this from Adowa,

in which were inclosed your third and fourth bills for L. 150, on Messrs Drummond and Co. with the letters of advice; and your letter of credit on Smyrna, which I have returned. Your first and second bills are not come to hand yet.

I have delivered your chest to Mahomet Reis Tobal * with strict charge, and shall give him your letters just before he sails, which I believe will be in about ten days. Inclosed you will find your account-current, and a list of what things I have sent.

Believe me, Sir, that part of your letter where you say you have sent me your letter of credit, and that if I have the least doubt I may learn of the Vizir that you had an order for 2000 dollars, gives me much concern. Could Mr Bruce think me capable (admitting I had any doubt) of applying to a man like the Vizir, for the truth of an assertion of his or any other gentleman of my country? No; believe me, Sir, I should have despised myself for such a thought, and if I had not liked to have sent the money, I should have told you so. As to any favour done you, for my part, I know of none that I am not well convinced you would have done with the greatest cheerfulness for me or any other gentleman; therefore, if I have rendered you any small service I am doubly rewarded, as it is no more than my duty as a man; and knowing it is for a gentleman who has every right to them, and ten times more from all his fellow creatures; and all the acknowledgment I am ambitious of, is to hear if you have received them, and that they are just what you wanted.

I am sorry it is not in my power to send you a tube for your barometer, no such thing being to be got. Here is a snow arrived from Bengal as the freight ship, and I thank

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* Captain of one of the native ships trading between Egypt and Mecca.

God no other coming. The vessel is my brother's, and all the goods consigned to me, which gives me great hopes of selling all, and getting away some time in June next. Haverkam and Potter desire their respects to you and Signor Luigi, to whom I beg you will make mine also.

I think I need not make any other apology for the Welsh English, and incorrectness you will find in all my letters, than to acquaint you that the enditer is the son of a poor Welshman, who never had the advantage of an education, and the transcriber a scholar of his. My very best wishes attend you, Sir; and I hope in God I shall one time or other have the happiness of seeing you in the land of liberty; in the mean time, believe me, I am, dear sir, with respect, your much obliged and obedient servant,

THOMAS PRICE.

P. S. As soon as I received your packet, I got yours to the Selidar translated as I have informed you above; and desired him to send me the letters you wrote for, but he being at Mecca, it took up some time before he sent them; and when they came, he only sent one of each for Adowa and Massowa, on which I wrote him again, and desired he would send me one for Sennaar; he sent for answer, that he had given you very strong letters for Sennaar before. Indeed, sir, I did not expect I should get any answer or letters, the Selidar being very busy in settling some disputes with the sheriffes at Mecca, and the boat to sail to day.

I hope Mr Bruce will not think I want to make a merit of any thing I do for him. No; believe me, sir, there is nothing gives me greater pleasure than being useful to any of my friends; but I am sure you would pity me if you were to see what a tribe of blood-suckers I have round me at this very moment, plaguing me for customs, boat-hire, &c. &c. al-

though I have not sold a piece of either last year's goods or this.

I hope you will not omit writing by all opportunities, as it will give me great pleasure to hear of your health, and believe me to be yours very sincerely.

DEAR SIR, JIDDA, *May* 10. 1770.

This serves to inclose you duplicates of a letter and account-current sent you under date the 6th March, which I sincerely hope you have received long ere this. I have the pleasure to inform you, that yours from Gondar of 20th February 1770 was delivered me on the 5th instant with your box of shells, which I will take care to forward to Cairo; and your letter of advice, and first bill of exchange for L. 150 on Drummond and Company, which gentleman I am sorry to inform you died the 2d of February 1769.

By the caravan to Mecca I received a box with some books and medicines, which I opened, to put in the bale of your money, and the powder you sent for. I wish it were better, it would have been much at your service. Here is no vessel from India but my brother's from Bengal, and the Surat freight ship, neither of which have any such thing as a barometer, or do I hear any thing of the china you sent for by Captain Pitullo, or any letter or mention made of you by Mr Russel to any of the gentlemen come this year.

I am exceedingly glad to hear of the kind reception you have met with at Gondar; but think your case particularly hard to have the principal object of your journey so very uncertain, after all the anxiety, trouble, and fatigue that you have gone through; but I hope in God it will all end entirely to your wishes.

Some days ago, Said Ali Nahaal sent me word that the box I sent you on the 6th of March was safe arrived at Massowa, and to day he sent me word there is another opportu-

nity to send to you. I am now repacking your box, and shall send it to him to-morrow with your money, the powder, and some letters which I received from Cairo.

As to the Turks beating the Russians, if the people of Jidda were to be believed, you would imagine they had taken the best part of their country, and killed the greatest part of their army; but I have very good reason to believe it is just the reverse. I suppose you will have the particulars in your French papers.

I am sorry to acquaint you that I have suffered greatly in mind, and very considerably in my property, since you left us; and, to add to my misfortunes, am likely to lose all the money I have sent home by French bills, for the use of my poor family and relations, amounting to L 1800; the French East India Company being bankrupt. These, sir, and a great quantity of goods which I have still on my hands, make me very unhappy, and render me very unfit to answer your letter as I could have wished. I earnestly wish that you will not neglect to write me by all opportunities, as it will give me great pleasure to hear of your health, and that you have received both your boxes safe. I think there is every thing you sent for except the barometer, which you certainly should have had, had it been possible to have procured one. You must direct my letters to Jidda, to the care of Mahomed Said in English and Arabic.

You may depend I will not neglect to get you every assistance I possibly can from the Selidar as soon as he comes to Jidda; he has not been here since August last, but is expected soon. I am in great hopes I shall have a few lines from you, with an account of your having received the box safe, before I leave this port, which I hope will be some time in next month. Haverkam and Potter beg you will accept of their best wishes; and pray give our compliments to Signor Lewis. That every happiness may attend you, is the most

sincere wish of, dear sir, your much obliged and most obedient servant,

THOMAS PRICE.

No. XXVII.

Mr Bruce to Mr R. Wood.

SIR, GONDAR IN ABYSSINIA, *March* 1. 1770.

I did myself the honour of writing you from Syria soon after my return from Palmyra, and still later from Cairo in the end of November 1768, just before my leaving that city.

It was in the beginning of December we embarked on the Nile, the season of southerly winds, which had blown for six weeks very violently. The Nile was low and shallow in many places, and every body foresaw we were to have a difficult and tedious voyage. The contrary, however, for we no sooner got into lat. 29°. about 60 miles south of Cairo, than we found the wind directly north, and so it continued all the time we were in Egypt, with very little intermission.

I do not know if you were ever in Egypt; there is not, I believe, any considerable voyage attended with less fatigue and danger than that of the Nile. The boats are very commodious, and well adapted to the river wherein they navigate. In other places they would be absolutely useless. Ours was but 60 feet in keel, yet had a mainsail yard near 120 English feet, which is larger than that of a 74 gun ship. With this prodigious pressure of sail we went with a very moderate wind eight and nine miles an hour, against one of the strongest currents in the world.

We had very strong letters from the government of Cairo, which enabled us to land wherever we judged proper. We observed the lat. and long. of all the remarkable places, and designed the course of the river in perfect liberty near Reremont; but on the opposite side we saw two columns of white marble with architrave, and frize of Greek architecture, which I take to be the remains of Antinoopolis, built by Adrian. I do not remember that they have been taken notice of by any traveller, though it is the only monument of that kind in Egypt.

There is nothing else remarkable till we come to Dendera, unless it be an inscription much defaced upon a large block of marble, which served as the architrave to the gate to the ancient town of Ackmim, TIBEPIOS KAAYAIOS TIBEPIOY TIOΣ. ΠANI. ΘEΩ. which seems to fix Panopolis here, though its situation in Ptolemy be somewhat different. Dendera, as Tentyra was formerly, is still remarkable for its groves of palm trees. The Egyptian temple at this place is the most entire and most magnificent in Egypt. The plan of the temple is perhaps as elegant as any Greek one whatever. A person who applies himself to the study of hieroglyphics, may here find employment for a life time.

We visited next the ancient Thebes, still known by the name of Medinat Thebo. It is situated at the very root of the ridge of barren sandy mountains that here bounds the valley; all before, and to the right and left, is a very fertile plain. It is something more than a mile from the river opposite to what seems the principal building in the city. In the middle of the plain between the town and river, are two statues in a sitting posture, about forty feet high covered with hieroglyphics, but on one there is a Greek and Latin inscription. Two villages at war with each other in the plain hindered me from being able to copy those or the Latin; I saw only "Memnonem loquentem audivit." I hope to be able to read the

whole at my return. Behind Elgourni, which is but a continuation of ancient Thebes, are sepulchres of the kings, each hewn out in the rock, each occupying a distinct mountain. Within they are covered with very fine stucco, with hieroglyphics moulded very neatly in relief. These sepulchres are divided into very large apartments, and the entrance of these interrupted by a multitude of large gates. Whether these shut formerly with doors of stone or metal I know not, but I imagine the extraordinary number of these, all very large and magnificent, which are to be seen in all these sepulchres, that are so many natural Pyramids, may have given the name Hecatompylæ to Thebes. The sepulchres are still called beeban, the gates, by the Egyptians*. Certainly Thebes itself, imagine its figure what we will, cannot have had the fifth of that number. The temple and hieroglyphics at Thebes are very entire. The latter in greater variety than any where else.

Medinat Thebo is opposite Luxor and Carnac, if the whole be not one city Diospolis; I take Carnac to be Ptolemy's Civitas Apollinis. There are two fine obelisks at Luxor quite entire. This and Medinat Thebo, are the two largest scenes of ruins in Egypt, and it is at the two last places we first see any considerable quantity of porphyry or granite. Indeed even here there is but little of the former.

There is little pleasure, and still less instruction, in examining Egyptian architecture. What I expected, however, firmly, was, that I should see plainly, and to my full conviction, the great analogy between the Doric order and this, which is by all affirmed to have given rise to it; the Doric column being, it is said, plainly a copy of the more solid and shorter Egyptian. Whether the Doric was the first order in Greece, whether it arose from an imitation of those of Egypt, I will not say; but it is false that the Doric is less solid than the

* *Beb* is the Coptic for a cave, or sepulchre; the Arabs borrowed the word in this sense from the Egyptians.

Egyptian. All the columns in these temples exceed nine diameters, and the ancient did not arrive at five; there are examples still existing where the column is little more than four. If we found then the proof of the Greek orders arising from the Egyptian from a similitude of proportions, there is a greater affinity between the Egyptian column, and the Ionic or Corinthian, than the Doric.

From Luxor we returned to Bajoura, a village upon the Nile, two miles from Furshout, the residence of the Arab Shekh, Haman, who rents all upper Egypt, except an inconsiderable part, of the Grand Signior. Five thousand camels, loaded with corn, were ready to be sent to Mecca. The corn was to be embarked on the Red Sea at Cossir; and to arrive here, they were to pass that desert mountainous tract which separates the Nile from the Red Sea, six days journey, where there is no water but what is carried upon camels. It rains here violently at times from November to March. In many places in the mountains the water is preserved throughout the year. These places are known only to the Arabs, who come and encamp there on hearing of caravans being to pass: it was not till the middle of March the caravan could venture, and it was with difficulty we passed at last, though escorted by 500 horse. In this journey we found the quarries from which the ancients had extracted that prodigious quantity of porphyry and granite. After the second days journey begin the porphyry and granite, then marbles of different colours, chiefly green, all of the finest kinds. We saw quantities of serpentine, and that called verde antico in less proportion; variegated marble of different sorts, and in the last day's journey before we arrived on the Red Sea, jasper in great plenty. The jasper does not grow like the marble in a mountain by itself, it runs in large veins in mountains of green marble. I have sent eleven specimens of different kinds of porphyry to Cairo.

The distance between the Nile and the Red Sea is about

70 miles, though in the maps it is run out nearly to 300; the reason is, that inclining the Red Sea more than they should do, they have made the Nile run perpendicular to the Mediterranean, though in fact it runs parallel to the Red Sea. This makes the error more considerable, and it becomes the more so, the more the course of the Nile is prolonged, which, notwithstanding the strange forms those geographers have made this river take in passing through Nubia to diminish this difference, still it is here so great as to make Abyssinia twice the breadth it is.

Cosseir is a miserable village close to the sea. There is no port; small vessels, which are only employed in running across to the Arabian shore and back again, anchor behind a rock, which shelters them from the wind. Mr Huet takes this to be Berenice, but that city was under the tropic, and the lat. of Cosseir, is 26°. 7′. 51″, and its long. 34°. 16′. 15″. E. from London. It appears to me to be the Portus Albus of antiquity, and to have taken its name from the two white chalk-like cliffs very high, which are to the north of the place where the old town stood. Water is here bad and scarce, and nothing in plenty but good fish. It was indeed a town of the Ichthyophagi.

We embarked at Cosseir the 11th of April, in a vessel, the planks of which were sewn together with small cords, which, in my opinion, far from implying danger, makes them the safer embarkation in this sea of shoals and banks, where navigation is so ill understood. The wind, favourable at first, changed and blew hard, and carried us before it down again to the east of Arabia Petræa, the morning being hazy till near noon, when it cleared, and we saw, on the Arabian shore, a cape, which we after found to be Ras Mahomet, one of those which form the entrance of the Elanitic gulf, whose latitude I then observed 27° 54′, so that we had got down near mount Sinai. A few days after, with a more favourable wind,

coasting Arabia Deserta, and anchoring every evening, we arrived at Yimbo.

Yimbo, corruptly called Yambo, or Iambo, has been an excellent port, though now, in great part, filled up with sand. It is a small town, and has a castle now gone to ruins, which seems to have been built in the time of the Saracens. Yimbo is in latitude 24° 3′ 35″ and 37° 57′ 35″ E. long. from London; it is, after Jidda, the port most frequented in Arabia Deserta; here all the corn comes from Egypt, without which Arabia could not subsist. It is carried hence in carts by land to Mecca and Medina. Yimbo is the port of Medina.

I should have been glad to have made the rest of my journey to Jidda by land, but no Christian can be admitted to travel in Arabia Deserta, this ground having been sanctified by the many expeditions and journies of the prophet. We were therefore content to continue our voyage by sea, and from thence, as occasion offered, to make small incursions into the forbidden country. Having therefore got our Rais * in our interest by the usual and only means, we anchored the first night in a small port (Djar) in lat. 23° 36. It is of a circular form, safe and good anchorage. The weather hindered my sounding or making a design of it, and it is the only port, I think, that has escaped me. The next day we anchored off Rabac, still a better port than Djar, and encamped on the shore. Here we were to wait the arrival of a man sent in to the country from Yimbo, to bring me the balsam tree, for which formerly this country was so famous. It grows at Beder, at no great distance from the coast, and we received it safe and entire, with all its leaves, fruit, and root. We likewise, in this port, made a large addition to our

* Captain.

collection of natural history, already very considerable. Rabac is in 22° 45′ lat. From Rabac, passing by places of less note, we came to Jidda on the 6th of May.

There were eleven English ships at Jidda from India; there were seven ships in the other ports of the Red Sea, Mocha, Loheia, &c.; the eleven at Jidda had paid that year of duties to the Sheriffe of Mecca and Grand Signior about 47,000l. sterling; yet this cannot persuade these people that it is their interest to use us well; and it was the common opinion of all the captains and super-cargoes there, that they must abandon their trade entirely, so much the extortions and abuses multiply upon them daily. Jidda harbour is one of the largest in the Red Sea, but it is full of rocks and sand banks; however, all the danger is in sight, and when vessels are once anchored, they are perfectly safe in all weathers. Its latitude is 21° 28′ 1″, and longitude 39° 21′ 30″ east from London; it is the sea-port of Mecca.

We left Jidda the beginning of July, and continued along the coast of Arabia Deserta to Ras Hali, a cape which divides the states of the Sheriffe of Mecca from those of Yemen, or Arabia Felix. It is in lat. 18° 6′; all to the southward belonging to another sheriffe, called the Iman, who resides inland at Sanaa, in lat. 15° 21′. All the sea-coast there is desert, as that of Arabia Deserta, but full of good ports and good anchoring places. The beginning of August we arrived at Loheia; it is a town of some trade, built on the point of a tongue of land at the entrance of a great bay now half filled up with mud, and where there is no water for any vessel of burden; it is in lat. 15° 40′ 52″ and 42° 54′ E. long. Here we waited till the beginning of September, when we embarked on board a small bark for Massowa*. In this se-

* Mr Bruce does not mention here his southern excursion. Loheia was the place where his guide was to join him.

cond voyage across the Red Sea, we passed Jibel Teir, formerly a volcano, and which has probably occasioned the number of banks and shoals, of which this sea is full. It flames no more, but sends forth a smoke in winter. In the end of September we arrived at Massowa.

It has excellent ports for the largest vessels, is a small barren island, scarce 300 yards long, without any water, but that fetched from Arkiko in the main land. It was once, together with Suaken, a place of the greatest trade. The cruelties exercised upon the Banian merchants have ruined all. The Indian trade and pearl fishery all are gone, and the place is now occupied by one called the Naibe, an Arab sheriffe, who commands a parcel of robbers and pirates. I never, I think, was in more imminent danger of being robbed and murdered than here. We escaped, thank God, by a kind of miracle, without either. Massowa is the entrance of Abyssinia, beyond which no Europeans, all called Franks here, are allowed to pass; it is in lat. 15° 35′ 5″ and 38° 48′ 45″. E. long. from London. After having suffered a thousand vexations and difficulties, we were at last allowed to enter Abyssinia; we were all along dressed as Greeks; as such we have passed till this day. We arrived at Gondar, the capital, in the end of February. I cannot give you a better idea of the difficulty of travelling in this country than in informing you, that I was about sixty-one days between Massowa and Gondar, which may be about 200 miles, part of which I have performed on foot; my telescopes, pendulum, and quadrant, being the heavy part of my baggage, have given me great trouble. It cost me ten men to carry my quadrant on their shoulders, and often I have been obliged to assist them, to give them courage. We have passed all that time in our tent lying on the ground, with seldom any provisions but bread and water; sometimes a little honey and coffee, for all this country is as it were a desert. In our way to Gondar we passed

through Axum, the ancient capital of this country, now reduced to a large village; it is in lat. 14° 6′ 36″.

I will not incur the exception made against young travellers, that they begin a description of the country and manners of the people as soon as they arrive in a strange country. Besides, my letter is already too long. I shall only say, I never yet saw a nation so barbarous, and I think I have seen many barbarians. I shall finish with informing you of my situation with respect to my voyage to the head of the Nile. Michael, governor of Tigre, first defeated, and then privately put to death, Joas the king, when I left Egypt. In his place he brought his grand-uncle Hannes from the mountain where the royal family is kept. Hannes died while I was on the road from Massowa, and his son, Teclahaimanout, a boy of about 12 years old, is the present king, a nominal one indeed, for all the government is in the hands of the governor of Tigre. The people of Damot, and part of Gojam, alone hold for the late king's party; and as they have brought with them the Galla, a very numerous and barbarous nation, ill luck will have it, those have occupied the spot where are those fountains. I am now at Emfras, on the side of the lake Tzana, as near as I can guess about 45 miles from the heads of the Nile. We see the mountain from which it rises plainly with the naked eye; and the enemy have made incursions to the foot of the hill whereon we are, so that we are on the utmost verge of safety†. * * *

† The copy of this letter, preserved among Mr Bruce's papers, is incomplete; and as it is not addressed to any person, it is difficult to ascertain for whom he intended it. From the expressions, however, at the beginning, and other circumstances, there can be little doubt that he designed it for Mr Wood. It is written on a very large sheet of what is called Dutch paper, some of which he got at Jidda, on his way to Habbesh. It contains the earliest account of his journey into that country.

No. XXVII.

Letters addressed to Mr Bruce during his residence at Masuah and Gondar, or written on his account by princes from whom he obtained recommendations. [Translated from the Arabic.]*

1. *Letter from Metical Aga, prime minister to the Sheriffe of Mecca, to Mr Bruce at Jidda.*

Praise be to God alone, and blessing upon him who is for his prophets after him. To the example of sages (alhocma), worthy of honour, and the pillar of believers who are baptised, the wise (el Hakim Bruthi el Englese) Bruce, the Englishman; may God direct him, and on him be prosperity and peace, and may he prolong to him his favour. Next to this; we have received your letter, and understood the contents of it, and what you mention respecting your arrival from Messir (Cairo), and that the object of your desire is Habbesh, and that you wish to obtain letters from us. We will prepare letters of recommendation agreeable to your mind, and our intention is that you shall have a companion

* Under this number are arranged such of the Arabic letters written for Mr Bruce as are found among his papers, and seem to be of importance in establishing facts mentioned in the Travels. They afford sufficient proof, if any were necessary, of the great precaution with which he travelled, and of the favours which he received from persons of rank and dignity in the east.

from amongst our people, who are travelling from us; they are well acquainted with the inhabitants and the countries in the west, and will inform you in every thing better than if you were travelling alone; and so we will write letters of recommendation only for Masuah, and we will make our people set out in a short time. Also, we will not fail to come to Jidda, and be informed by you, face to face. May your affairs by sea go prosperously, and to your mind. Let this much be known to you; and on this subject enough for the present. May God bless him who follows the right way.—Written on the 14th day of the month Moharram el Harâm, in the year 1183. And may God bless our apostle Mahommed, his family, companions, &c.

The clock (saât darabe) which you presented to us is received, and it diverts our son Jawher Metical. Be this known to you; and let this much suffice. May God bless our prophet, &c. &c.

Address. To the town of Jidda. For the example of sages, &c. [the same as in the introduction.]

2. *Letter of Metical Aga to Mr Bruce, in answer to his, requesting letters of recommendation to the king of Sennaar.*

[Praise be to God alone. To the example, &c. [same epithets as above]....Bruce el Hakim, may God direct him. Next; we received your letter, and understood the contents of it, and with regard to what you mention concerning a letter to the king of Sennaar, you may depend on it for your journey. As to the medicine you sent us, it is received as you mentioned, but we do not know how to use it; fail not to instruct us in that particular. And if he is with you, or with any one near you, inform our servant Farage of it; he will re-

ceive for us whatever you communicate. And, if he is with you, send him and nstruct us in the whole truth. God is every where; he will direct us how to do. God is in that. Salute in our name all the *captains*, and let this suffice.—Written on the 12th day of the month Sepher, 1183.

[Address on the back as above.]

3. *Letter of Metical Aga to Mr Bruce, respecting his journey to Sennaar.*

Praise be to God alone. To the example of sages, worthy of honour, the pillar of believers, &c. (as above) el Hakim Bruthi, el Nazarani (Christian) may God direct him.—We have received your letter, and understood your discourse, and now we have sent you letters for travelling, and in them all the truth. With respect to what you have mentioned concerning the letter, which we are to give you further to the Sultan of Sennaar, we will send a companion for you, our messenger, Othman, the Turk, going from us with charge. And you must not go from Habbesh to Sennaar, unless he be before you; and we will give him more orders respecting you. And when you have come to that place, we will inform him that he give you letters and bring you to the Sultan; and he will serve you, and recommend you to the Sultan. And may there happen no change disagreeable to you in this. And the letter for Masuah also, when we have given it into your hands, may it be according to your wish. Of this we have informed you, and of the letter which goes by the hand of Mahommed, who is to accompany you. We have given him further orders respecting you; so let your mind be glad, and may no change (accident) befall you either in Masuah, Habbesh, or Sennaar. The strengthening medi-

cines, which we mentioned formerly, commit to our servant Farage Muggrebi, and inform him how they are to be used. God, God is in that. And on this subject enough. And God bless him who follows the right way. Written on the 15th day of Sepher, 1183. And God bless our Lord Mahommed, his family, friends, &c. *.

4. *Letter from Bajerund Janni, Ras Michael's deputy-governor at Adowa, in Tigre, to Mr Bruce at Masuah* †.

Praise be to God alone. To the presence of the exalted nobleman, the honourable, the brave, the liberal, the generous friend, the faithful Bruce; may God direct him. So be it. After salutation; if you enquire after us, praised be God, we are all well and in health, wishing only to hear the same of you, and if God will, better than that. We now inform you that we have received your honoured letter, and understood the contents of it. Praise be to God for his protection, and may our Lord make us meet together in safety. You mentioned to us in your letter, that you are afraid in the journey to Habbesh, because of the war, which is in the hands of God only; but fear not, for God is with you. Further, I, who am unworthy, have written a letter on your account to the beloved and brave, the Naybe Othman Aga, that he provide for you a safe place, and supply you with whatever things you want, and conduct you to Dixan. Also, we have written to Ahmed Aga, son of the renowned, the Naybe

* These letters were writen from Mecca, where Metical resided, and sent to Mr Bruce at Jidda. The fall of Ras Michael prevented the Sheriffe's minister from sending a person to conduct Mr Bruce to Sennaar.

† This letter is alluded to Vol. IV. p. 228.

Hassan, and to Hagi Jabuhadekay, that they provide you with a safe place and a residence where you may dwell till you come to us, and supply you with necessaries, and give you all that you shall have occasion for, and conduct you to Dixan with your chosen servants, and my servant now going to you. And inform him of whatever you need, and he will demand it for you; and come to Dixan with my servant, and send us notice of your arrival there. With respect to the letters which you sent to us with the knowledge of the Naybe Othman Aga, Ahmed Aga, and Hagi Jabuhadecay, they were given to me. With regard to the letter brought by Sidi Francis we sent it to Gondar. And if you enquire at us about Ras Michael; he is happy, in good health, and well, and on his way returning to Gondar. For certain. May our Lord comfort you with safety and peace. Salute in our name Mahommed Gibberti, the respected. Peace; and again peace be upon you. (Letter from Bajerund Janni.)*

5. *Letter from Metical Aga to Mr Bruce, in answer to one sent by him to Mecca, with Jawher, the Sheriffe's servant who had conducted the new Abuna into Habbesh.*

Praise be to God alone. To the presence of the example of the wise, deserving honour, the Christian; may the supreme God direct him. We inform you of the receiving of letters concerning you from the countries of Habbesh, Adowa, and Ras Michael, with recommendation of you; also the Naybe Othman Aga in Masuah has informed us that he forwarded you with safe persons that might conduct you to Adowa, and that you were in company with our son, Maho-

* All of Janni's letters have a Greek sentence written on the back by himself. His secretary wrote the rest.

hommed Gibberti. Let this be known to you; and also the receipt of the letter sent by our son, Jawher, and of the pistols committed to the charge of our servant Jawher. Be this known to you. And a letter for Ras Michael will come to you along with this. And on this subject enough. May God bless him that follows the right way; and may he bless our Lord (Sidana) Mahommed, his family, companions, &c.

(No date.)

6. *Letter of Metical Aga to Othman Aga, Naybe of Masuah, on the subject of Mr Bruce.*

To the presence of the exalted chief, worthy of honour and regard, brave, spiritual, religious, upright, exemplary, pious; our beloved and valuable friend the Naybe Othman Aga; may peace from the supreme God be upon him, and may God bestow on him life, power, honours, grace, and blessings. After introduction, the subject of a letter from the fortified Mecca, the noble, may God encrease its prosperity and fame—is that brought by Jawher, who accompanied the Abuna; and we have informed you before of the whole truth. If you enquire at us about the affairs of the two sacred countries* (beladi-el-haramin) the deputy and Basha arrived at the town of Jidda in the month of Shawal, and he is a good man. We informed you before that you should assist us with the *miri* (tribute), and we hope in God that this our letter will reach you soon; and all requests from us.—And so be not afraid, because that we have received a letter from the Christian, El Hakim, Mr Bruthi †, who went with

* Mecca and Medina.

† This word is written in Arabic Mustir; it was inserted verbally from the English.

Mahommed Gibberti, our messenger into Habbesh, in which he informs us, that after you had given him common necessaries from the town, and brought him to Arkeeko, that you got from him presents and 300 *rial** *Franse* (patakes) and that your first demand was a thousand *rials*, which was not deserved by you from him whom we sent from our quarter with letters from us. Honours were due to him, because we became surety for his intention, and his having abandoned the love of the world. And now certify us in that matter; and whatever you received from him send it to us. And do not act improperly in this thing, of which we give you information, and may God bless you. Salute in our name your whole family (soldiers), and Ahmed, and his people, and all that are with you; and all the young men from us, and Sheikh Hagi Omar and his people. And may God bless you. Written and sealed in the month of Dhulkaade-el-Harâm, 1183. And may God bless our Lord Mahommed, &c

(Address on the back.) To the town (Bender) of Masuah. Peace be upon the Syed, the exalted chief, worthy of honour and regard, &c. (as above, in the introduction to the letter)... the Naybe Othman Aga, commander in the town of Massuah; may G. direct him. 8642.

7. *Letter from Bajerund Janni at Adowa to Mr Bruce at Gondar, giving him notice of the arrival of a box and some articles from captain Price at Jidda.*

Blessing and peace be upon him who is for his prophets after him; to the presence of Yagoube-el-Hakîm, the posessor of high rank, true and faithful sentiments, stedfast in re-

* Rial; in the plural, rialat, an Imperial dollar, or pataka.

ligion and counsel, may the supreme God preserve you. In him Amen. Your enquiry after us is most obliging; and we enquire after you only. If you ask concerning us, assuredly we are whole and well, and may you, if it please God, be better than that. After salutation: There has arrived here Hagi Jawher, attending the Abuna, who has delivered to our people a box with letters in it, informing you of its contents, which, when you shall receive from their hands, give the person who brings it a kefla and half a dahab. The expense for it is seven rials (pataka) to Mahommed Adoulai in the way from Masuah to Adowa; and four rials from Adowa to Gondar, and a kefla and half a dahab to him who delivers it; in all seven rials and four give to our people, and the kefla and half-dahab to the bearer. And when you have received the box, write a letter to the *Captain* that you have received it safely. Inform us also concerning the war, and the purposes which brought you from Egypt. With respect to the journey which you intend to make to the sources of the river (el maiat el bahar) before peace comes it will not be possible to travel in this way or that. Preserve yourself; and salute in our name our beloved Georgis and your servant Michael, and our brother Asaleffi * Petros, and Sidi Paulos, and the people of our house (Greeks.) An answer is expected. The writer of this letter (the scribe, or secretary of Janni) salutes you. Our brother, Constantine, the respected, salutes you. Peace be upon you.

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* Chamberlain. Petros had served king Joas in that capacity.

8. *Letter from Sid Constantine, a Greek, who had carried several articles, intended by Mr Bruce for Arabia and Egypt, from Gondar to Janni of Adowa. Written from Adowa.*

Praise be to God alone. Blessings and peace be upon him who is for his prophets after him. To the presence of Yagoube el Hakim, &c. [Here the same epithets, inquiries after health, and the like, are used, which occur in the preceding letter of Janni.] After salutation. If you inquire concerning us, blessed be God, we arrived safely at the town of Adowa, and thought often on you, as God knows, who enabled us to travel from Gondar to Adowa. All the letters, and what you committed to our care, we delivered to Bajerund Janni. With respect to the trust which you consigned to us, we delivered it to our brother Petros; and with respect to the fifty pieces, there were spent of them six; four given to Sid Paulos, and two to Sid Socrates. The remaining 44 were delivered to our brother Petros. And may God favour your design, and peace. The whole medicines, &c. we delivered to Bajerund Janni. And with respect to letters for Egypt, we will receive them when it shall please God, and send them by Hagi Ali Nahal *. So keep your mind at ease. Farewell.

* Captain of a ship trading between Jidda and Masuah.

9. *Letter from Bajerund Janni to Mr Bruce, on the subject of the preceding one.*

Praise be tō God alone. Blessing and peace, &c. [verbatim as in letter 7th.] After salutation: Your respected letter came to us, and we understood it; and the letters which you sent for Egypt came to us, and the parchment for the book, and the medicine; also the packet of medicines, and letter for Metical Aga, all by the hand of our brother Constantine. And with regard to the packet of medicines, write to us how we shall dispatch them. Sealed letters for you, from Egypt, will come to the hand of our brother Asaleffi Petros, by the travellers, and also letters from Jidda, in answer to those which we dispatched from you by Hagi Ali Nahal, through the hands of Hagi Mahommed Adoulai; and the letters which are to be received by our brother Asaleffi Petros, and those the captain sent you by Hagi Ali Nahal, came first by him to Mahommed Adoulai *, who sent them by Hagi Jawher, servant of Metical Aga, that came to Dixan with the Abuna. When they came to us, we sent them to you. And give for customs to M. Adoulai in Masuah six rials, and for carriage, four, &c. [Here a paragraph is omitted relating to the expences of carriage, which he directs to be paid to Petros at Gondar]. With respect to the horns †, if it please God that we can get them, we will supply you, and as to the genuine tree of Abyssinian myrrh, Heaven will procure it. As to the book which they wrote in Axum, after the rains we will send it to you without fail. With regard to the History (Tarikh) of Ras Michael, we will cause it to be written for you, and

* The Sheriffe's spy, or man of business, at Masuah.

† Large horns of cattle, used for holding liquors in Habbesh. Vide Vol. VI. p. 132, et cett. passim.

nothing omitted. And our Lord eternal and supreme shall supply all our wants. Before I wrote you this letter, I sent you the watch, because it has stopped, and if you know how to put it right, do so, and send it to us; if not, you will take it with you to Egypt, whence you will send it to us in order. May God prolong your life, and peace be upon you. Salute from us our dear Georgis, and your servant Michael. The writer of this our letter salutes you; as also Hagi Mohammed Alamin. Our brother Sid Constantine salutes you, and thinks on you every hour. God knows he loves you much. Farewell.

10. *Letter of Bajerund Janni to Mr Bruce at Gondar, written in June or July* 1770.

Blessings and peace on him who is for his prophets after him. To the presence of our dear Yagoube El Hakim, possessed of exalted rank, &c. [verbatim as in letter 7th]. After salutation: Lately we sent you letters in answer to those which you wrote to us. With regard to the box, write us whether you have received it, and to the Captain; may it come to him safely. With respect to yourself, we have written to the Iteghe (queen), that she cause to be restored to you what was taken from you by the sons of Basha Eusebius, and that she would protect you. May God the eternal and supreme protect you from evil. With respect to your books, they are written, and have been compared with the Tarikhe Sultane Yasou el Kebir * (History of King Yasous the Great). The Tarikh el Yawm (Chronicle) cannot

* The books mentioned here are the History of Yasous (Vol. IV. of MS. Annals), and the book of Axum, described, Vol. III. p. 409.

be got here. The book which they wrote in Axum is transcribed, and after having compared it with various copies, I have given it to our people, in order that it may be sent to you. In this we are hindered by the rains, but after these, if it please God, it shall be sent you. With respect to the genuine horns of cows which we promised you, we expect some from Antalou after peace is established. The genuine plant of Abyssinian myrrh (mour el Habbesh) has not yet been brought to us; whenever it comes, we will send it to you. Salute from us our dear Sid Georgis, Michael, our brethren, and Sid Benati. The writer of our letter salutes you. May God prolong your life; and farewell.

(Address.) May it come to the hand of our dear Yagoube el Hakim. 8642.

11. *Letter from Bajerund Janni to Mr Bruce, about the same time.*

Praise be to God alone. Blessing, &c. [the introduction verbatim as in the former letters.] After salutation: Some time ago we wrote you respecting the box, and in answer to the letters you sent to us. The Captain and Hagi Ali Nahal both sought answers from us, which send to us. The caravan has brought to us letters from Hagi Ahmed Adoulai and Hagi Ali Nahal, which we have long since sent to you. The box and letters you sent are in Masuah, in the custody of Hagi M. Adoulai; if you give orders to have them dispatched by sea, we will do it; if not, they will remain where they are, at your pleasure. Inform the bearer of this letter respecting that. We have also written to the Iteghe, that she would protect you (may God the eternal and supreme protect you); and likewise to the Iteghe, that she would cause restitution to be made to you of what you were robbed

of by the sons of Basha Eusebius. Write to us an answer for information respecting this. If you inquire for news of the affairs of Jidda, the Sheriffe Messaad is dead, and his brother, Sheriffe Ahmed, reigns; and Metical Aga is very well. With regard to Ali Bey, he sent from Egypt four ships of war with troops, to make war upon Mecca, Jidda, and God knows where. If you ask respecting el Mascou and Islam (the Russians and the Turks), no new accounts have come to us. With regard to your brothers in Jidda, they are all well. Salute from us our dear Georgis, Michael, &c. May God prolong your life. Farewell.

12. *Letter from Metical Aga, recommending Mr Bruce to Seifi Aga, Basha of Souakin.*

Praise be to God. To the exalted commander, worthy of honour and respect, Hagi Seifi Aga, may God preserve him. After this: If you ask after us, assuredly we are well, and in good health, and desire the same of you. The cause of our writing this letter to you, is a letter intended for the presence of Baady, king of Sennaar, and the contents of it are concerning the recommendation of a man, one of the great men of the English (regel min adima el Englese) who came to us with the highest recommendations from Stamboul and Messir (Constantinople and Cairo), and asked our assistance, which we have granted, with recommendation. He is at present in Habbesh, and intends to go to Sennaar; and he has sent and asked from us a letter to the king, with recommendation to him. We have also written for him this letter, and if he comes to you, forward him, as we have written to you with commendation and friendship for him; because the man is of this sort, he is a supporter and assister of the benefit of the country, and studious only of goodness and justice. We

commit you to the protection of God. Written on the 11th of the month Dhulkaade el Haram, 1188.

For the town of Souakin. To the exalted commander, &c. (as above) Hagi Seifi Aga. May God preserve him.

13. *Letter from Abd-el-Jileel, formerly Governor of Ras el feel, to Mr Bruce,* 1771*.

Praise be to God alone, and Mahommed is the apostle from God. To the extended shadow, the overflowing river, that sweeps away whatever is scattered and loose, the destroying lion, the devouring tiger, the generous harvest that spreads liberality, &c. The Shekh Abd el Jileel, son of the honoured Shekh Bashir, son of Hagi Omar el Ferbawi, salutes the company of el Hakim Yagoube. Salutation from your elder and younger brother. Abd el Jileel salutes a second time, the writer, along with el Hakim Yagoube, the traveller of Shekh Confu, from Gondar to Sherkin (Tcherkin), from Sherkin to Kanjuk (Ganjook), from Kanjuk to Ras el feel, from Ras el feel to Rashid, from Rashid to Teawa, from Teawa to Beyla, from Beyla to Bajbuje (Basboch), from Bajbuje to Sennaar. Praise be to God for his friendship. Fedaile is a friend. Abd el Phatei, Shekh of Beyla, is the friend and companion (rafik wasahaba) of the traveller of Shekh Confu. Our Sid Belaho will not fail to bring you to Tcherkin; from Tcherkin send word to us, that we may forward you on your way. And peace be upon you a thousand thousand times. The

* This is one of the letters which Abd el Jileel wrote to Mr Bruce at Gondar. Both this man and Fedaile pretended friendship to Ayto Confu's traveller, with the design of murdering him when convenient. The stages between Gondar and Sennaar are enumerated in this letter.

Erbab Ali Ibn Wahreb ullah also salutes you with much peace.

14. *Letter of Ismail, king of Sennaar, recommending Mr Bruce to Shekh Ibrahim Walad Musnad.* 1772.

In thy name, O most Gracious.

In the name of God, the merciful, the gracious. Praise be to God, who has sent his prophet, and we believe in what he has said.

[The impression of the royal signet, placed after this, has the words Al Watek bil Mulk al hadai Assultan Ismail Ben Assultan Bade. 1188. The truster in the directing king, the Sultan Ismail, son of Sultan Baady.]

From the presence of the Sultan of the Moslems, and the Chalife of the Lord of both worlds, upright in spiritual and temporal affairs, the prosperous establisher of the Moslems, the conquering sheriffe, Sayyed al mursalin (prince of those that were sent), the standard-bearer of justice and virtue towards all mankind, the guardian of the country, the conqueror of slaves, the subduer of the people that are infidels and out of the right way, and of the people that are wicked and perverse; may the mercy of the eternal and supreme God be upon the presence and dignity of our lord and chief, and may we conquer and subdue our enemies; Al Watek bil Mulk alhadia, the sultan, who is the son of sultans, the sultan, who is the conqueror of kings, Ismail, son of the renowned sultan Baady, may the most merciful God give him victory, and may the august Koran and the glorious prophet guide him. So be it. So let it be, O Lord of both worlds!—To the presence of Sheikh Ibrahim Wulad Musnud, may great peace be upon you. The cause of our writing is this: If there come to you, with this letter, el Hakim Yagoube,

sent to us by the Sultan of Habbesh, with strong recommendations, and besides all these the Sheriffe, the Sultan of Mecca, recommended him to us, and said this man* is wise, and a foreigner, and is travelling in your quarter; supply him with necessaries for his journey, and while he stays; and this Hakim has been here, and is gone from our land on his way to you, and towards Rif. What he asks for his journey, give him, and honour him with true honours, because he is a stranger, and recommended to us by kings. Supply him with necessaries for his stay and journey, and send him forward with his companions in whom he has trust. And, after you have forwarded him, write to us that he is gone, with his people, in health and safety, that the fore-mentioned kings may be informed of it with full certainty. And we rely upon you with full certainty; and let no answer come from you, but with praise and thanksgiving to God. God is over that. Farewell.

16. *Letter of Shekh Adelan*†, *vizier to the king of Sennaar, recommending Mr Bruce to Shekh Musnad, father of Ibrahim above-mentioned.*

In the name of the most merciful God. Praise be to God alone, and Mahommed great is his glory.

[On the seal is el-Watek-billah warrasoul almahi Assheik Adelan ben Assheikh Subahi, 1176.]

After the salutation of peace from the most high God, with his mercy, blessing, and favour. From the presence of,

* Hakim implies more than a physician, though it includes that signification.

† For an account of this gallant and generous chief see Vol. VI. p. 353, et seqq. He calls himself on the seal, which is much larger than that of the king, "The truster in God and the destroying prophet, Ade

him, who has hope in his virtues, and fortitude under his affliction, endowed with upright counsel and clear judgment, useful among the children of the sword, the liberal warrior, who is fortunate in this world, and, if it please God, shall be happy in the next, Al WatekBillah warrasoul almahi, the Shekh Adelan, son of the renowned Shekh Subahi, may God bless him, Amen. To the presence of Shekh Musnad, Shekh Adelan salutes you with abundant peace, and will bestow on you more power and honours. What we have to inform you of in this is the coming to you of El Hakim Yagoube, our friend and our companion (sahibna warafikna), and the friend of the king. The Sheriffe of Mecca sent letters with him to us long ago, in which he said to us, Supply him with necessaries *, that, accommodated by you on our account, he may pass through all the dominions of the king of the Funge.—Fail not with respect to the traveller, who may be of benefit to thy life, for he is one of the men who are skilled in the cure of diseases; his travelling is for knowledge, and his ornament is his fortitude. Strengthen your heart towards him, and convey him along with his people to Rîf; for he is a man that has not with him money, or a number of people; he has only books and medicines; and his camels loaden with his books and medicines, and his horse. He has with him nothing else. His camels also are weak: retain them, and forward him with others, in order that you may fulfil what is most just. And that he may go with peace we have written to you.

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lan, son of Shekh Subahi." It is uncertain to what Arab Shekh the letters from Adelan and the king were written, as the names of Ibrahim and Musnad do not occur in Mr Bruce's narrative. They were undoubtedly heads of tribes in the way to Egypt.

* Abakou alaihi ishrat. Ishrat is translated by Golius, conversatio, mutua consuetudo, familiare consortium.

to the unjust. God shall salute the most famous among his creatures, and his followers. Next. Let this order be obeyed with the assistance of God in all parts, which is written from the Divan of Cairo the fortified, and which contains an agreement with the esteemed Captains and Christian merchants, who are famed for their honesty, may they have a good end. Be it known to you all, as many of you as this reaches, that the honoured Yagoube el Hakim has come from us, and has given us to understand the injustice commonly practised by his majesty the Sheriffe of Mecca, and by his dependants in the place of Jidda, and that you wish to come into the port of Suez, but want security. It is very agreeable that you should enjoy this in the time of our king† servant of the two holy places, and lord of the two lands and the two seas, may God always give him strength and victory. I make you sure, therefore, that you may come to Suez with your ships with good profit under the shadow of God and of our prophet, and under our own both far and near; and that you shall not be molested neither by us, nor our servants, our soldiers nor our subjects, and that you shall not pay aught but eight per cent. of the said merchandise, or its value; and fifty pataka for each ship to the commandant of Suez in name of anchorage; and that you may come to Cairo itself, and trade for money, or barter, as suits you best, without restraint from any one; and, if it suits you better to trade at Suez, we will order the merchants thither without any body's incommoding, or troubling you. So you shall have repose

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would recover his power. Mr Bruce went at Sennaar under the character of the Bey's servant and physician, as stated in his letters to the king and Shekh Adelan. The above letter was intended to inform the Bey, that Adelan had fulfilled his request respecting the traveller.

† The Grand Signior.

more than you desired; and these promises are good and binding, and will not be changed to the contrary, so that you shall not pay any other expenses to us or to our soldiers. And may the blessing of God rest on him that follows the right way. The 15th of the month Zilkaade, 1186 *. (February, 1773.

No. XXIX.

Letter of Luigi Balugani, written after the journey to the sources.

Note F. p. cxxxi†.

Se io credevo di avere la stessa riputazione che sogliono avere la più parte de Viaggiatori verso di V. Eccza ometterò di renderla informata che doppo esser restati Otto Mesi a Gonder Villa Capitale di Etiopia senza potere giungere a vedere le sorse del Nilo, tanto in ogni tempo desiderate, finalmente, il giorno 18 di Novembre, con l' ajuto del Signore, siamo rientrati a Gonder di ritorno del sudetto Viaggio. Quest è la seconda volta che è stato intrapreso: La prima fù in Maggio scorso, ma con tale infelicità che fossimo spogliati il terzo giorno che eravamo sortiti, e computato le cose che ci sono state levate montavano al valore di circa 50 oncie d' oro; oltre di che poco è mancato che non vi lasciamo ancor

* This translation is from an Italian version made at Cairo; the original being left there with the Venetian consul.

† *Note G*, p. cxlvii, was intended to comprehend the letters of the king of Sennaar, and his minister, written for Mr Bruce; but as these have been arranged under No. XXVIII, the reader will find them from p. 295—299, in this Appendix.

la vita: Di quel tempo fino al giorno d' oggi il Governo ha sempre promesso di far restituere tutto; ma inutilmente. Questo ladro tiene parentela con la famiglia del Rè; e non è possible di potere fare nulla contro d' esso, ma a forza di parole si conduce di giorno in giorno finche verrà il tempo che noi partiremmo senza che hà restituto nulla di quanto abbiamo perduto. Ma al giorno d' oggi pazienza; il Viaggio alle Fontane del Nilo che era il principale scoppo del Viaggio di Etiopia già è fatto, e potiamo dire alla barba di tanti Sovrani de l'antichita che abbiamo visto quello che loro hanno tanto bramato, ma che per mancanza d' inteligenza hanno sempre preso quelle strade che li conducevano lontani del fine proposto. Se piace a Dio, al presente che ciò e fatto, non tardaremo molto a ritornare alla nostra casa, ed il mondo avra un istoria veridica di Etiopia con una carta delle più essette delli luoghi che noi abbiamo visto, e di sue situazione rilevate mediante observationi essattissime astronomiche fatte con grandi instromenti, dimostrando quanti errori sono stati fatti da quelli che hanno dati carte d' Etiopia, e quante buggie e false proposizioni sono state dette intorno di costumi, la religione, il governo, e tutto ciò in somma che riguarda l' istoria di questo paese; il quale, a dir vero, io, che sono sopra il luogo, posso servire di testimonio che la massima parte di esso, o è assolutamente falso, o è molto diverso di quello che è stato scritto, sia per ignoranza o per altra ragione io non so: ma il fatto è cosi chiaro e costante che non è probabile di travidere, o essere ingannato.

Io no mi diffonderò dettagliando per minuto il nostro viaggio poiche questo potrebbe rendere disgustato il mio principale, che ne vuol dare una perfetta istoria; ma solamente io mi ristringerò a racontarla un costume usato de quei popoli vicini alle fontane del Nilo che quantunque si dicono Cristiani assolutamente per ciò si prova che non le sono che di nome e niente di fatto ***.

[This paper is the scroll of a letter from L. Balugani, Mr Bruce's assistant, to some person of rank in Italy*. It is unfinished; without any address; all in Balugani's hand-writing, and curious, as it was written after the journey to the Sources.]

Translation.

If I thought I should have the same reputation with your excellency, that the most part of travellers usually have, I would omit to inform you, that, after having remained eight months in Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia, without being able to visit the sources of the Nile, so much sought after in every age, we have, at last, by God's assistance, entered Gondar, on the 18th of November, from that journey. It is the second time that it has been undertaken. The first was in May last, but with such bad fortune, that we were robbed the third day after our outset, and the value of what was carried off, is computed at 50 ounces of gold; besides, that we nearly lost our lives. Till this day the Government has always promised to make the whole be restored, but to no purpose. The robber is related to the royal family, and it is impossible to do any thing against him; the affair is protracted by words untill the time come when we must depart, without any restitution of what we have lost. But patience! the journey to the fountains of the Nile, our principal object, is accomplished, and we can say, in the face of many sovereigns of antiquity, that we have seen what they had so long desired to see, but always, for want of information, took those roads which led them far from their purpose. Now, that this is done, if it please God, we shall not delay long to return home; and the world shall have a true account of Ethiopia, with a map of those places which

* Probably the Count di Ranuzzi.

we have visited, and their positions ascertained by most accurate observation with large instruments; shewing what errors have been committed by those who have given maps of Ethiopia, and what nonsense and false assertions have been uttered concerning the manners, religion, government, and, in short, all that relates to the history of the country—to the most part of which, I, who am on the spot, can bear witness, that it has either been absolutely falsified, or stated very far from the truth, whether through ignorance, or other causes, I know not; but the fact is so clear as to be indisputable.

I shall not enter into a detail of our journey, as that might displease my master, who intends to give a complete account of it; but shall confine myself to the description of a particular custom used by the people that live near the fountains of the Nile, who, though they call themselves Christians, appear from this to be only so in name but not in reality * * * * †.

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† There is no date affixed to this letter, but it was probably written in November or December 1770, soon after visiting Agow-midre. It is to be regretted that Balugani did not finish his account of the Pagan customs of the Agows, as it would have confirmed the information given by his master. Balugani died at Gondar, about the middle of February 1771. There is an anachronism in the account of his death in Vol. IV. p. 426, into which Mr Bruce seems to have been led by inattention or forgetfulness.

No. XXX *.

Letter of M. Belleville of Aleppo to Mr Bruce.

Au Caire, M. James Bruce.

MONSIEUR, ALEP, *le* 6 *Aout*, 1772.

Je ne puis vous exprimer avec quel plaisir j'ai appris hier par une lettre de Mess. Julien et Rosa, du Caire du 4. Juillet, que le jour avant, ils en avoient reçû une d'avis de votre part datée du 9. Dec. 1771 de Gondar; qu'ils se flattoient d'en avoir bientot d'autres plus détaillées; et enfin qu'ils espéroient votre retour par toute la courante année. Cette nouvelle a fort rejoui tous vos amis, qui commençoient d'etre à votre égard dans la plus grand peine. Je fus tout de suite l'annoncer à M. John Abbott, consul ici de la nation Angloise, et je lui ai remis copie qu'il m'a demandé de la lettre de Mess. Julien et Rosa pour l'envoyer à Londres. Vos amis et banquiers de la ditte ville etoient aussi en grande sollicitude sur votre compte.

Cette lettre m'a été portée par mon fils aîné qui vient d'employer un an et plus à un voyage à Constantinople et Smyrne. Il a pris sa route de retour par Alexandrie, et a

* This and the following letter are a part of a long correspondence between Mr Bruce and a friend to whom he was much indebted, and whom he greatly esteemed, M. Belleville of Aleppo. They are inserted here as a memorial of friendship.

voulu voir le Caire; je l'attens demain ici, et impatiemment pour le questionner avec plus d'étendue à votre sujet. M. de Montaigu arrive par la même occasion. Chacun est ici dans l'attente de voir un homme si fameux et si singulier.

Je compte que vous m'aurés fait l'amitié de m'ecrire de l'Abyssinie; que vous le ferés encore en arrivant au Caire, et que suivant votre promesse, vous me ferés un jour annoncer dans mon lit que votre pavillon est au second moulin. Je vous repete que je reclame mon droit de possession en vous offrant de nouveau ma maison, et tout ce qui en depend. J'espére que la presence de M. Abbott ne me privera pas de ce droit, et de ce plaisir: autrement vous me donneriés la mortification de penser que vous n'auriés pas été content de moi à votre premiere residence à Alep; et si jamais j'allois en Ecosse j'irois prendre un gîte chez les montagnards plutôt que dans vos terres. C'etoit hier le jour de bonnes nouvelles. En voici un qui vous regarde. Si je suis le premier à vous la donner j'en serai d'autant plus aise. Je reçûs une lettre du Doct. Russel en datte 20. Mai, de Venise. Vóici ses termes: " A Roma e Napoli gl'amici del Signior Bruce mi domandavano di sue novità. Qualch' amici ancora del giovane Pittore che l'accompagnava erano molto desiderosi d'aver novita. Un Signore in Roma, che conosce le circonstanze de M. Bruce, m'assicurava che le rendite delli suoi terreni sonno cresciute doppo sua partenza, 1000l. sterling per anno." Voilà quelque compensation pour les depenses de vos voyages. Mes lettres precedentes addressées au Caire (Je crois chez M. Napallon) vous ont instruit de ce que Mr Abbott m'avoit reporté, d'une somme de 4 à 5000l. sterling, existente à son depart de Londres chez Mr Drummond et Comp.—*Crescant et multiplicentur.*

J'e n'ai point encore de lettres de M. Napollon. Peut être mon fils m'en donnera-t-il demain, ayant eté accueilli au Çaire chez cet ami. Il m'avoit ecrit qu'il se chargeroit va-

lontiers des debours qui pourroient vous être necessaires, ainsi que vous me l'aviés demandé. En même tems il m'avoit ecrit qu'on avoit retrouvé votre carte du Nil, et une caisse de coquillages qu'un Turc, Capitaine de vaisseau de Suez, avoit reçû de vous, et consigné de votre ordre a Mess. Julien et Rosa pour attendre votre retour. J'en ai été fort aise pour nos interests reciproques, mais je n'ai plus rien sçu des trois caisses que vous m'aviés marqué avoir expediées avant d'entrer en Abyssinie, et qu'on m'avoit ecrit avoir été detournées par certains religieux Franciscains. Vous verrés cette affaire à votre retour, en cas qu'on n'ait pas erré en confondant ces 3. caisses avec cette remise au Capitaine Turc.

Je vous ai mandé que vous trouveriés chez Mess. Julien et Rosa les instrumens de la derniere commission que vous m'aviés donnée, qui leur ont eté addressé par Mess. Belli et Fonnereau de Livorne, d'ordre de Méss. John et Nathanaël Frée de Londres, qui en furent chargés par mon bon ami Mr James Fremeaux. J'espére qu'ils seront en bon etat, et de votre approbation.

Voici ce qui concerne M. Amoreux et sa famille. * *
* * * * * * * * * *

Du 8. *Aout*,—Mon fils arrivé aujourdhui, au defaut des lettres de M. Napollon qui n'a pû m'ecrire, incommodé d'un grand mal aux yeux, m'a confirmé ce que m'ecrivent Mess. Julien et Rosa sur votre compte, mais qu'on attendoit une caravane par laquelle on se flattoit de recevoir de vos lettres. J'éspere que vous auriés bien voulu m'ecrire, ainsi en vous rapellant tout la part que je prens à votre santé, et à vos succes. Vous scavés avec quelle étendue d'attachement J'ai l'honneur d'etre, Monsieur, votre humble et tres obéissant serviteur,

BELLEVILLE.

No. XXXI.

M. Belleville to Mr Bruce, at Cairo.

ALEP, *le 25 Avril*, 1773.

MONSIEUR ET CHER AMI,

Je viens de recevoir la lettre que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'ecrire du Caire le 28 de Fev. J' attendois de vos nouvelles avec d'autant plus de desir que mon ami du Rocher m'avoit mandé que vous aviés été longtems sans mes lettres. J'etois, et vos autres amis d'Alep, dans des peines bien plus vives sur votre compte, après plus de quatre ans d'absence dans un pays d'où l'on ne revient presque pas plus que de l'autre monde. Vous ne pouvés concevoir le plaisir que nous eumes de votre retour, et combien nous sommes fâchés de ne point vous revoir ici. J'en fais cependant la sacrifice en prenant part à la confidence que vous avés eu la bonté de me faire, et au bonheur qui vous attend. C'est ce que je traiterai plus bas.

Vous n'avés reçu qu'une de mes lettres en Abyssinie, et trois au Caire : je ne suis pas surpris de n'avoir pas eté plus heureux que vous, qui m'en avés ecrit un bien plus grand nombre ; mais surement d'autres miennes sont perdues, puisque vous ne me repondés rien sur plusieurs objets que je vous ai participés. Je regrette trés fort le journal que vous m'aviés adressé, et dont je n'ai eu aucune nouvelle. Tout cela n'est rien si, comme je n'en doute pas, vous avés conservé

votre carte du Nil, vos remarques originales, enfin l'essentiel de votre travail. Car après tant de peines et de perils, il seroit cruel d'avoir à retracer tout cela avec le seul secour de votre memoire. Vous savés que je suis vieux; faites que j'aye le tems, en ce monde, de connoitre la relation circonstanciée que sans doute vous donnerés au public de ce voyage extraordinaire, comme j'espére d'aprendre en moins de tems les marques d'honneur et des recompenses que vous ne pouvés manquer de recueiller dans votre patrie. Je serai fort attrapé si vous n'ecrivés qu'en Anglois; vous m'obligerés de faire la dépense d'une traduction; car, en un mot, je veux connoitre ce qui va vous faire tant d'honneur.

Vous me confirmés la perte de trois caisses de coquillages, et j'en gémis, parceque c'est en effet une grande perte pour un curieux, à cause aussi des peines que votre amitié vous a fait suporter pour cette recherche, et je suis outré de la friponerie de ces malheureux moines. Ne croyés pas qu'elles soient perduës par leur paresse; vous etes trop indulgent. Sûrement ils les ont interceptées, et en ont fait leur cour à des protecteurs en Italie. Il est douloreux de ne pouvoir point avoir action contre ces barbes. Je vois que vous voulés bien me destiner votre collection, vous contentant d'avoir dessiné les doubles de ces caisses, et que vous avés trainé tout cela de la Mer Rouge en Abyssinie, de là à Messir, par terre, avec bien de peine sans doute, sur tout après la journée de 30 Novembre. Il n'y a que vous qui puissies aprecier les obligations que je vous ai là dessus. Je suis un trop petit personage pour me flatter de rien qui égale votre bonté. Je ne compte pas de faire à Alep l'etalage de toutes les beautés que je vous devrai, je les reserverai pour mon retour à Marseille; et mon premier soin sera une inscription " Munificentissimo D. J. Bruce, cujus laboribus ad mare rubrum, Abyssiniam, &c. &c." Je sens très bien quel relief vous allés me donner parmi les curieux. J'observe qu'une grande

plante de corail a eté brisée, autre sujet de lamentation; les malheureux habitans de ces pays ne different en rien des bêtes, malgré les preventions de M. de Montaigu, que je suis tres loin d'adopter. Je vois que parmi tous ces coquillages il y a trois espéces à distinguer par des notes. 1° L'huitre noire du Nil. 2° Les moules, dont une decouverte sert de montre. 3° Le Buccin blanc, surmonté de spirales, couleur fauve. Voilà trois sortes de pieces que je crois n'être nullement connues par les naturalistes, et que je noterai conformement au report que vous m'en donnés. Mais pour que mes notes soient claires et exactes, je vous prie de vouloir m'expliquer ce que je n'ai pas bien compris. Vous dites l'huitre tirée du Nil, *ou il sort du païs d'or*, qu'on ne voit pas ailleurs dans cette riviere; je juge de l'expression que le *païs d'or* est une contrée particuliere que ce fleuve parcourt. Pourriés vous me dire plus precisement en quelle part elle est de l'Abyssinie, ou du cours du Nil, que je puisse le decouvrir sur la carte? Les moules sont de terre, c'est à dire, sans doute, *fluviatiles*, qui croissent là où tombent les grandes pluyes tropicales: quelque explication encore là dessus S. V. P. 3° Le Buccin: je ne serois pas surpris s'il etoit marin, qu'il eut des trous ronds, &c. J'en ai vû sur des Buccins et des murex de la mer rouge, soit que cela soit naturel à ces sortes de coquillages, soit fait par les langues de pourpres; mais sur des coquilles terrestres l'empreinte du pourpre me paroit extraordinaire. Peutêtre est ce l'effet de quelque gros vers propre au Nil ou autres rivieres de ce païs là. Excusés si je vous donne la peine de ces eclaircissemens; c'est que je veux être en etat de bien repondre aux curieux que la rareté de ces pieces etonnera. Vous avés eu, de plus, la bonté de renvoyer votre domestique a Suez pour tâcher de remplacer le perdu, comme si ce qui vous etoit resté à me destiner n'etoit pas deja bien riche et bien abondant. Vous faites encore pêcher à Alexandrie, et vous vous voulés bien me

promettre qu'*in eternum* vous ferés chercher dans vos mers, et dans les climats eloignés. Il est inutile d'entreprendre de vous remercier; il vaut mieux me laisser accabler de biens, dès qu'il ne m'est pas permis d'aspirer à un retour equivalent. Souffrés encore une priere en coquillages, c'est dans les espéces qu'on peut trouver dans vos colonies d'Amerique. Ils en a sans doute qui doivent varier des notres, et dans ceux des Indes que vous croirés n'avoir pas remarqué dans ma collection, et parmi votre présent. Mais ce doit être par le tems et l'occasion, sans vous presser nullement à cette recherche.

Après tant et de si belles choses, comment ôser produire le peu de medailles que vous allés recevoir. Je vous ai dit, dans ma lettre du 17me courant, les obstacles que des evenemens et la bêtise nonchalente de ces gens çi ont mis à mes recherches. Je puis dire avoir beaucoup perdu in ce que le religieux de Moussol n'a pû y retourner. Ses confreres lui ont fait des embarras; mais s'il parvient à les surmonter, je me flatte que je n'aurai pas perdu pour vous quelques petits services que je lui ai rendus. Ce Moussol* doit être une bonne source, mais il faudroit y avoir quelqu'un de bonne volonté. Voyez à quoi je suis reduit; du cuisinier, que j'avois de votre tems, j'en ai fait un marchand qui roule dans l'Armenie, et je lui ai plus racomandé des medailles que de bien vendre mes effets. J'ai aussi prêté quelque argent dans la même vue à un homme qui depuis trois mois a passé en Commagene, suivant le succès du cuisinier. Je le renverrai encore, et peutêtre vers Erzerum. J'avois dessein, depuis plus d'un an, d'aller à Edesse; les troubles de cette ville ne l'ont pas permis; et generalment toute la Syrie et Mesopotamie est en confusion. Les Paches sont reçûs ou expulsés à la fantaisie des

* A town near the site of ancient Nineveh capital of Assyria.

peuples ; il n'y a pas jusqu' à la route d'ici à Alexandrette ou il y a trois sortes de guerre, des villageois, des Turkmans et des Curdes ; on brûle des villages ; on massacre ; ce sont des horreurs. Je viens de me procurer un homme à Damas ; mais, comme tous les autres, il est impossible de l'instruire. Enfin j'éspere que toutes ces mesures ne seront pas vaines, et que dans la suite je pourrai vous envoyer plus en nombre ; du moins je n'aurai pas à me reprocher d' y avoir bien travaillé. Vous allés a Marseille ; mon fils, ou mes fils vous diront, s'ils ont pû me procurer *Vaillant des Roys des Syrie*. Si cela n'est pas fait, veuillés me le chercher à Lyon, ou a Paris ; je vous tiendrai compte de la valeur.

Je suis au reste trés aise que vous preniés la voye de Marseille, vous y serés bien en quarantaine, et pour peu de tems, et cette ville merite votre attention. Vous y trouverés des Messrs d'Alep, Routier, Taupin, Crozet, Badaraque, Reinaud, *I* rnoux. Je compte que vous me ferés la grace de voir mon épouse, ma famille, et mes amis, et que s'ils peuvent vous être utiles, vous les employerés en memoire de moi. Mon cadet vous rendra les medailles et mes lettres. Je voudrois fort que vous y trouviés encore l'aîné, bien que j'en doute. Il me feroit grand plaisir de l'interroger beaucoup sur votre compte à son retour.

Si jusqu' à present je ne vous ai parlé que coquilles, ne croyés pas que je ne prenne un veritable interet a la confidence dont vous m'avés jugé digne. Je suis enchanté de la genereuse resolution de la Demoiselle à la quelle vous allés vous unir, et de votre procedé à son égard. Voila une personne qui a un coeur ferme, vrai, qui merite d'être heureuse. Dieu recompense ses sentimens par un bon choix, et sans doute vous jouirés ensemble de toutes les felicités qui vous sont dûës. Plut a Dieu tous les mariages se fissent-ils de même. Je n'ai pû que concevoir la plus haute id:e de Mademoiselle. Je vous prie de lui faire agréer mes respects,

mes souhaits les plus étendus, et tous les services que vous jugerés à ma portée. Ma veneration pour elle, et mon affection pour vous m'enhardissent à vous demander une grace encore; c'est le portrait de l'un et de l'autre: ils seront placés dans mon cabinet comme la representation de la vertu et du vrai merite. Peu de jours aprés l'avis de votre arrivé au Caire, je profitai d'un olak pour l'anoncer au Doct. Russel. Si j'avois le bonheur que ma lettre eut été la premiere à en instruire Mademoiselle, je la regarderois comme l'inspiration la mieux placée de ma vie; un si beau coeur ne doit pas vivre en peine. Quand à ces portraits, prenés la forme la plus facile, il suffit qu'ils me representent M. et Milady Bruce.

Parmi le cuivre que m'est resté j'ái quelques medailles d'Elia Flaccilla et d'Elia Eudoxia, qui sont citées pour rares, en bronze, dans un livre intitulé *science des medailles* edit. de 1739; et un Dalmatius. Sur la foi de ce livre je vous les aurois envoyées, si je les avois trouvé notées dans votre memoire. Mais n'en disant rien, et ces medailles étant du bas empire, j'ai crû que vous ne vous en soucieriés pas. Si vous en étes curieux, elles seront dans le premier envoy que j'aurai à vous faire. La Flaccilla est de la grandeur d'une piece de 12 sols; les Eudoxia et Dalmatius sont plus petites. Je souhaite d'avoir bientôt du meilleur à vous preparer, et je l'espere de tant de personnes que j'employe.

* * * * * * * * * *

Mess. Pons, Germain, et Puech vous font mille complimens, et mille souhaits. Je vous fais les miens avec chaleur et sincerité. Je n'ai pas besoin des expressions, et elles ne rendroient jamais tout ce que le coeur desire à votre égard; Conservés vous; souvenés vous de moi comme de celui qui vous a voüé le plus parfaite amitié et un attachement inviolable. J'ai l'honneur d'etre très cordialment, Monsieur et cher ami, votre trés humble et trés obéïssant serviteur,

BELLEVILLE.

No. XXXII.

Note [H.] p. clviii.

Letters from M. de Buffon to Mr Bruce.

The Comte de Buffon to Mr Bruce.

Je suis désolé, Monsieur et trés respectable ami, d' avoir apris dès hier par Madame D'aubenton, et aujourd' hui par M. de Montbeillard le fils, que vous êtes incommodé; il ne faut pas que votre grand courage vous fasse mépriser les maux de cette vie au point de brusquer votre voyage. Au nom de Dieu restés, au moins un jour ou deux, dans l'honnête et bonne maison où vous êtes, et où trés certainement on est charmé de vous avoir. Ma santé n'est pas trop bonne aujour d'hui, et de plus j'ai donné mes chevaux à M. Heben qui vient de partir pour Dijon; sans cela j'irois vous voir dès ce soir; mais si vous prenés le parti de rester, j'irai demain, samedi matin, jouir du bonheur de vous voir, et diner avec nos amis; ne me faites point de réponse je vous supplie. M. de Montbeillard se charge de me faire savoir votre résolution.

On ne peut, mon cher Monsieur, vous être plus sincerement et plus respectueusement devoué que je le suis.

BUFFON.

Je joins ici le dessein d' un animal que j' ai reçû ce matin de la part de Milord Bute; c'est à peu prés la meme bête qu' ûne * * † qui m'a eté envoyé par le gouverneur du

† A word illegible here.

Cap. Je crois que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous montrer ce dernier dessein, et il me semble que vous m' avés dit que l' animal vous etoit inconnu.

2. *The Comte de Buffon to Mr Bruce.*

MON TRES CHER MONSIEUR,

J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m' avés fait l'honneur de m'écrire de Semur, et je le garde comme un témoignage précieux de votre amitié. Je vous supplie d'etre persuadé que vous avés emporté mon estime et mes regrets au plus haut degré. Ces sentiments me seroient doux s'ils n' etoient accompagnés de l' inquietude où je suis de votre santé; cependant je ne vous en demande point de nouvelles, parce que je suis déterminé à partir, lundi, pour Paris, et je compte y arriver sans faute, mardi. Je serois bien heureux si vous y étiés encore le mercredi; car je ne perdrois pas un instant pour jouir encore du bonheur de vous voir. Je suis avec tout attachement et tout respect,

Monsieur,

Votre trés humble et trés obeïssant serviteur,

BUFFON.

Montbard, ce 3. *Juin* 1774.

A M. M. le Chevalier James Bruce de Kinnaird, à l' hotel d'Entreagues, rue de Tournon, à Paris.

3. *The Compte de Buffon to Mr Bruce.*

Il suffira, Monsieur et trés respectable ami, que vous vous donniés la peine d' aller chés M. le Duc D'aumont, ruë de Bonne, près le pont Royal, et d'y laisser votre nom, si vous ne le trouvés pas, en mettant que vous êtes venu pour le remercier et prendre congé de lui.

Au reste, mon trés cher Monsieur, nous n' irons pas demain en campagne chés M. Necker, comme je vous l'avois proposé. Je reçois dans ce moment une lettre par laquelle on me marque que ni Madame de Marchai, ni M. d'Aranda ni M. D'angivillers ne peuvent s'y trouver, et dès lors je ne veux pas y aller moi-meme, ni par conséquent vous engager à y venir. Nous sommes donc libre pour demain; Voyés, mon cher Monsieur, si vous voulés que j'aille diner seul avec vous, tête à tête. Un poulet avec deux plats de légumes, comme petits poix et artichaux, cela me suffiroit. Ou si vous aimés mieux venir diner avec moi, je pourrai vous donner la méme, quoque je n'aye point de cuisinier. Faites moi le savoir aujourdhui.

Je viens de vous envoyer le Sieur de Séve avec ordre de faire ce que vous lui dirés. On a dû aussi vous porter, ce matin, le pot du prétendue sauge qui est actuellement en fleur.

Adieu. Je vous embrasse, et vous suis aussi tendrement attaché que respectueusement devoué.

BUFFON.

Au Jardin du Roi ce 18. *Juin.* 1774.

4. *The Compte de Buffon to Mr Bruce.*

MON CHER ET RESPECTABLE AMI,

J'ai reçu, Vendredi 15 de ce mois, à Montbard, votre lettre dattée de Londres du 2d, et que vous m' aviés addressée à Paris. J'ai été enchanté d'apprendre votre heureuse arrivée et la glorieuse reception qu'on vous a faite à la cour. Vous deviés vous y attendre; un Souverain et une reine aussi dignes que les votres, ne pouvoient manquer de rendre justice à votre merite, à votre courage et à vos immenses travaux. Ils se sont, en vous honorant, fait honneur à eux me-

mes, et en vous louant à haute voix ils ont fait un acte de Péres de la Patrie, qui encouragent leurs enfants par l' exemple d' un grand homme. Je suis très convaincu, mon cher ami, que si vous vouliez en éffet profiter des circonstances pour vous pousser dans les grandes affaires, vous arriveriés bientôt aux places qui demandent en même tems une haute naissance et un grand mérite ; mais je trouve que vous pensés mieux en vous bornant à la vie privée, à laquelle on est toujours trop heureux de revenir, même après avoir joué les plus grands rôles de ce monde. Vous avés déja bien assés fait pour votre gloire, et pour l'utilité du genre humain : jouissés en paix du surplus de votre belle carriére en vous occupant paisiblement de la redaction de votre ouvrage. Vous trouverés à Londres des artistes capable d'en executer les gravures. Le jeune dessinateur dont vous avés vû avec moi les ouvrages chés M. le Duc D'Aumont, dessine actuellement une de vos plantes d' Abissinie qui a fleuri au jardin du Roi, et je crois que vous en serés plus content que de M. de Seve qui est fort en colere contre moi de ce que je ne lui ai pas donné la préférence pour faire vos dessins. Lorsqu'il y en aura cinq ou six d' achevés, je donnerai ordre qu'on vous les envoye.

L' article de votre lettre qui m'a fait le plus de plaisir est celui où vous me marqués que l'affaire d' Alger est terminée ; j' aurois été désolé de vous voir partir pour une enterprise où vous pouviés tout perdre, et n'aviés pour ainsi dire rien à gagner même du côte de l'honneur, puisque vous en êtes comblé par ce que vous avés déja fait.

Rien n'est aussi plus flatteur pour moi que ce que vous avés la bonté de me marquer de la part de vos augustes Souverains, et de l'estime de votre trés respectable nation ; c'est de toutes celles de l' univers celle que je révére le plus, et si j'etois plus jeune j'irois avec plaisir traverser le Canal in deux heures et demie à vous embrasser huit heures aprés.

J'ai retrouvé ici votre amie Madame D' Aubenton en bonne santé; son oncle Gueneau de Montbeillard doit venir aujourd'hui diner avec elle et avec moi, et je les attendrai pour fermer ma lettre, car nous boirons surément à votre santé. Nous avons fait en effét grande memoire de vous, mon cher ami, et nous vous sommes tous attachés. Le troisieme volume in 4° del Historie des Oiseaux va paroitre, et j'ordonnerai à M. Pancouke de vous l'envoyer, mais malheureusement vous n'y trouverés pas les Serius; cet article doit commencer le quatrieme volume qui n' est pas comencé d' imprimer, et qui ne paroitra que dans huit ou neuf mois. N' oubliés pas, mon trés cher Monsieur, de m' envoyer les notes que vous avés eu la bonté de me promettre sur les deux animaux qui vous m'avés permis de faire copier dans vos dessins. Cela me fera grand plaisir, à present, car je travaille au Supplément de l' Historie des animaux quadrupédes. Je finis en vous protestant que je suis avec la plus grande estime, et avec un sincere et respectueux attachement, Mon trés cher Monsieur,

Votre trés humble et trés obéïssant serviteur,

BUFFON.

Montbard ce Juillet, 1774.

M. le Chevalier Bruce de Kinnaird, chés Messrs Drummond et Comp. Banquiers, Charing-cross, à Londres.]

2. *Translation of the above letter.*

My Dear and respectable Friend,

I received, on Friday the 15th current, at Montbard, your letter from London, dated the 2d, addressed to me at Paris. I am delighted to hear of your safe arrival, and distinguished reception at court. It was what you must have

expected; a sovereign and a queen, so worthy as yours are, could not fail to do justice to your merit, your courage, and your immense labours. In honouring you they do honour to themselves, and in commending you highly, act like the parents of their country, who encourage their children by the example of a great man. I am convinced, my dear friend, that if you chose to profit by circumstances, in order to advance your political interest, you would soon arrive at offices which require both high birth and great merit; but, I think, you judge better in resigning yourself to private life, to which even those who have acted the greatest parts in this world are always happy if they can return. You have already done enough for your glory and the service of mankind; employ peacefully the remainder of your bright career, in the arrangement of your work. You will find, in London, artists fit to execute the engravings for it. The young draughtsman, whose works you and I saw at the Duc D'Aumont's is just now designing one of your Abyssinian plants that has flowered in the king's garden, and I believe you will be better pleased with him than you were with M. de Seve, who is in a great rage against me, because I have not given him the preference to execute your drawings. When five or six of them are finished, I will order them to be sent you.

The part of your letter, which gives me most pleasure, is that in which you inform me that the affair of Algiers is terminated. I should have been in affliction to see you engage in an enterprise in which you might have lost all, and could gain nothing, even in the article of honour, with which your past exploits have already covered you.

Nothing can be more flattering to me than what you have the goodness to intimate to me from your august sovereigns, and with regard to the esteem of your very respectable nation;

above all others in the world it is the one I most revere; and, if I were younger, I would, with pleasure, cross the channel in two hours and a half to embrace you eight hours after.

I have found here at my return your friend Madame D'Aubenton. Her uncle, Gueneau de Montbeillard, is to dine with her and me to-day, and I will not close my letter till they come, for assuredly we shall drink your health. We all hold you much in remembrance, my dear friend, and are all much attached to you. The third Volume in 4to of the History of Birds is just ready for publication, and I will order Mr Pancouke to send it you; but, unfortunately, you will not find it in the Seriuses; that article begins the 4th volume, which is not yet printed, and will not appear for eight or nine months. Forget not then, my dear Sir, to send me the notes which you have had the goodness to promise me on the two animals which you have allowed me to copy from your drawings. That will oblige me much at present, for I am at work on the Supplement to the history of Quadrupeds. I conclude this letter with assuring you, that I am, with the greatest esteem, and with a sincere and respectful attachment, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BUFFON.

Montbard, July 20. 1774.

No. XXXIII.

Lettre écrite de Versailles, le 3 Decembre, par M. le Duc D'Auguillon á S. Em. M. le Cardinal de Bernier ; á Rome.

Le Chevalier Bruce, Anglois, renommé par l'etendue de ses connoisances, et par son zele pour l'accroissement des sciences, & des arts, après avoir parcouru l'Abyssinie, a raporté en Europe le fruit de ses découvertes & de ses travaux ; Il est actuellement en Italie, d'ou il a fait parvenir en France quelques unes de ses observations, des graines de plantes inconnues parmi nous, & un manuscrit Abyssin trés rare qui a été déposé à la Bibliotheque du Roi. Ce savant se proposant d'aller à Rome m'a fait prier de l'annoncer a Votre Eminence ; Je m'y porte d'autant plus volontiers que les temoignages qu'on rend des qualites personellés de M. Bruce le rendent digne de la bienveillance de Votre Eminence & de l'accueil favorable qu' Elle voudra bien lui accorder.

Je prie Votre Eminence d'être bien persuadé des sentiments du parfait & sincere attachement avec lequel je fais profession de l'honnorer plus que personne.

D'AIGUILLON.

No. XXXIV.

Letters to and from Mr Bruce at Rome, 1773.

1. *From Mr Bruce to il Marchese Accoramboni.*

SIGNIORE MARCHESE, Piazza di Spagna. Lunedi.

Non il cuore mio, ma le prieghere delli amici miei m'hanno fatto offerirvi il alternativo per l'Abbate Grant;—non era per simil soddisfazione che ammalato e coperto de ferite io ho passato tratte lunghe di terra e mare per trovarvi.

Uomo innocente occupato nel servizio di mia patria, senza provocazione o aggravio del mia parte nessuna, m'avete tolto il mio onore con violare tutti li dritti avanti Iddio ed uomini, li più sacrosanti, e fatto difficultà di dar in scritto questo che volontieri confessarelo con la lingua. Uomo onorato ed innocente, Marchese, non conosce queste sotilezze, e bene sarebbe per uno da Noi, oggi, che V. S. fosse stato tanto scrupuloso nel commetere l'injuria quanto siete nella riparazione.

Io son il vostro eguale, Marchese, si più più, ed il torto che mi fatto fra di Noi non resta aora che Iddio à fare la giustizia. Pieno d'innocenza e con conscienza netta io rimetto a Lui la mia vindetta, e tiro la mia spada contro da Voi oggi con quella confidenza che inspirano le riflessione d'aver fatto il mio dovere, ed il senso delle ingiustizie e violenza sofferte senza ragione di lei.

A none ore e mezza di Francia io vengo con la mia carossa alla porta vostra; si mia carossa non vi piàce, sia lesta la sua—Andaremo insieme vedere qual delli due è il piu facile, à fare un affronto a uno absente, o sostenarlo in sua presenza.

Ho il onore d'essere

Il suo umil. servitore,

JAMES BRUCE.

A Sua Eccelenza, il Signore Marchese d'Accoramboni. A Casa sua.

2. *Sign. Accoramboni to Mr Bruce.*

SIG. CAVALIERE,

Quando fù trattato il matrimonio con Mad. M. in oggi mia moglie, non fù mai parlato che vi fosse preventiva promessa con V. S. altrimenti non si sarebbe concluso un tale affare.

Rigguardo poi alla persona di V. S.; sul mio onore non ne ho in alcuna maniera parlato, non essendo à me cognita la sua persona. Onde, se posso, servirla mi commandi, e con il più profondo rispetto mi rassegno

Di V. S.

Umillimo ed obligatissimo servitore,

Casa, November 30. 1773.

FILIPPO ACCORAMBONI.

Al Sig. Cavaliere Janne Bruce.

Translation of the above Letters *.

1. *Mr Bruce to Sig. Accoramboni.*

Sir,

Not my heart, but the entreaties of my friends, made me offer you the alternative by the Abbé Grant. It was not for such satisfaction, that sick, and covered with wounds, I have traversed so much land and sea to find you.

An innocent man, employed in the service of my country—without provocation or injury from me, you have deprived me of my honour, by violating all the most sacred rights before God and man; and you now refuse to commit to writing what you willingly confess in words. A man of honour and innocence, Marquis, knows no such shifts as these; and it will be well for one of us to-day, if you had been as scrupulous in doing an injury as you are in repairing it.

I am your equal, Marquis, in every respect; and God alone can do me justice for the injury which you have done me.

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* These letters passed between Mr Bruce and the Marquis d'Accoramboni, an Italian nobleman, who had married a Scotch lady, whom the former considered as engaged to himself, by a promise of marriage given before he went to Algiers. The Marquis protested that he was ignorant of any such engagement, but refused to say so in writing. The difference was settled by his consenting to write the above letter. Mr Bruce's friends, who perceived the inutility of challenging Accoramboni, were much afraid that he would employ assassins or poison to get rid of his enemy.

Full of innocence, and with a clear conscience, I commit my revenge to him, and draw my sword against you with confidence inspired by the reflection of having done my duty, and by a sense of the injustice and violence which I have suffered from you without any reason.

At half past nine, (French reckoning) I come to your gate in my carriage; if it does not please you, let your own be ready; and let us go together to determine which is the more easy, to injure a man in his absence, or to defend it when he is present.

2. *Sign. Accoramboni to Mr Bruce.*

SIR,

When the marriage with Miss M., at present my wife, was arranged, it was never mentioned to me that there was a promise made to you, otherwise that connection should not have taken place.

With regard to yourself, on my honour, I have never spoken of you in any manner, as you were entirely unknown to me. On which account, if I can serve you, command me. With the profoundest respect, I sign myself, your most obedient humble servant,

House, November 30, 1773.

FILIPPO ACCORAMBONI.

To James Bruce, Esq.

No. XXXV.

Letters of M. Journu de Montagny to Mr Bruce.

Marseille, le 16 *Mai,* 1774.

MONSIEUR.

Sur le peu de bien que j'ai dit de vous à mon frere, il desire si fort de vous connoitre que je lui remets la presente Son âme et la mienne sont comme celles de David et de Jonathas; vous ne pouvez aimer l'un sans aimer l'autre; et l'un ne peut desirer de vous être utile sans que l'autre ne partage les mêmes sentimens.

Un telescope que j'ai dans mon cabinet n'excite pas plus ma reconnoissance qu'il ne ranime le desir ardent que j'ai d'avoir vos ouvrages; vous me les avez promis; vous vous etes rendu caution de la satisfaction que j'en aurai; ainsi j'y compte comme sur la mort. Buffon a-t-il terminé vos doutes sur la forme que vous deviez donner à votre ouvrage, et sur laquelle vous m'aviez demandé mon avis? Quelle que vous employez, nous serons tous contents parce que tout sera bien vû, bien observé, bien dit, et bien exposé. On se battra pour en avoir; attendez vous y. Je m'attens à une chose bien contraire à vos vues. Loin d'exciter l'emulation, et de former des imitateurs, vous m'avez tout l'air d'étonner et de décourager. Qui ôsera après vous, aller voyager, sans reunir vos talens, votre courage? Et qui ôsera les avoir, ces talens dont quelques uns sont à quelques égards contra-

dictoires entr'eux ? Nous verrons cent voyageurs passer le Cap Horn, et parcourir toutes les Isles de la mer Pacifique ; nous n'en verrons pas un faire ce que vous avez fait, et comme vous l'avez fait. Haud continget ulli. Je donne au plus fier et au plus adroit d'aller à Sennar, et de pousser de là jusques au Senegal.

Vous me fairiez plaisir en me disant si vous avez été content de Buffon, et quelle impression auront faite sur lui vos desseins, et ce que vous lui aurez communiqué de vos decouvertes, et de votre maniere d' observer ? Il voudroit bien avoir eu des correspondans comme vous depuis trent années. Ne soyez pas honteux avec lui ; ôsez lui demander des coquilles, et vous en aurez. Quand j' aurai ramassé de quoi former un caisson je le remettrai à Birbek.

Il me reste à faire des voeux pour que S. M. Britannique vous envoye à Alger donner une leçon de politesse à les barbares. Vous devez cet exemple à l'Europe, et mieux que qui que ce soit, vous devez leur faire voir que cette multitude de canons étonnés de se trouver confondus pêlemêle, ne sçauroient vous resister plus que leurs cabanes ne resistèrent à D'étrées. N' abandonnez pas vos principes de gouvernement, et vous verrez le citoyen Anglois respecté sur toute côté, et sur les mers, comme le citoyen Romain l'etoit par tout pays.

Nous sommes encore alarmés sur la santé de notre bon Roi. Cet événement aura nui à l' agrément de votre sejour à Paris. J'en suis faché parce que l' accueil qu'on vous y auroit fait, presque au nom de la nation, vous auroit un peu vangé de la conduite de nos vils negocians du Levant. Les scelerats !

Borely et moi, depuis votre depart, ressemblons à une poule qui a perdu ses petits. Nous eprouvons un vuide insuportable ; ainsi la nature nous vend cher tous nos plaisirs, et nous invite par là à user avec moderation de ce qu'il y a de

plus cher, et de plus pretieux au monde, l' amitié d' un homme excellent. Adieu ; ne me parlez pas de la fiévre ; parlez moi de vous, de Buffon, et de vos ouvrages. Je suis pour la vie,

Votre ami et serviteur,

JOURNU.

2.

Marseille, June 10. 1774.

Mon cher ami, j'ai votre lettre de Montbard et celle de Semur. Cette fiévre est de trop ; laissez en France tous les mauvais principes ; un de plus ne nous gâtera guères, et il pouroit transplanté en Ecose, nuire à ma curiosité et à cette de toute l'Europe. Je vous écris à Paris, croyant que vous y passerez quelques jours.

Michael me dit que les 300 livres que M. Guys a en ordre de lui compter, suffiront pour les chameaux, de Tor au Caire ; mais qu'ils sont insuffisant pour payer le loyer d'une barque, la nourriture, et les donatives duës aux Arabes qui doivent l' aider. Cela me paroit assés juste J' en écris à M. de Buffon, et je lui mande que mieux que personne vous sçaurez lui dire à quelle depense poura s'élever cette commission. Parlez lui en.

Cette peau de giraffe ne se trouve pas dans ma salle encore remplie des debris et de la paille. Michael et mon neveu m' assurent qu'elle a éte inserée dans une des dernieres caisses que nous avons conditioneés. Je l' écris a M. de Buffon, à qui j' offre les viperes à corne.

Ceût eté une bonne leçon pour moi que de vous avoir accompagné á Montbard ; entre vous deux je n'aurois pas acquis plus d' émulation, mais plus de lumieres et de principes. Ce voyage peut être mis à coté de celui d' Italie pour

me donner des regrets ineffaçables. Hatez vous d' aller à Kinnaird pour vous acquitter de ce que vous devez à l'Europe. Rien ne peut dissoudre l'engagement que vous avez pris, et que seul vous pouvez tenir.

Vous êtes bien bon, de parler de moi à M. de Buffon. Que suis je? Ne craignez vous pas de vous faire tort dans son esprit, si je viens a lier connoisance avec lui? les amis comme les nourrices étouffent quelques fois par leurs caresses.

Quand verrons nous ce traité de meteorologie? Dites quand? Buffon a-t-il fixé vos idées sur la forme que vous donnerez a votre voyage et à vos observations? Parlez m'en. Michael m'assure qu'on me fait pas la bière avec le Teff. Je vous ai envoyé la maniere qu'l a vû employer.

Que diable voulez vous faire de ce discours que blâme Guys, et que vous avez, je crois, reconnû vrai? Guys me disoit l' autre jour que j'avois outré mes idees, &c. Je lui repondis que tel ce croyoit negociant qui n'etoit qu'homme de lettres. Voici mon original; avec tout autre que vous, je prierois qu'on m'excusât d' avoir, en parlant du voyageur Abissin, fait taire mon coeur.

Les endroits de votre lettre que je lis avec le plus de plaisir sont ceux où votre coeur me parle. Faites le continuer. J' aime beaucoup cet intime chatoüillement de l'ame; et ce doit être ainsi pour tous ceux, qui, comme moi, mettent le bonheur dans la tendresse du coeur, dans les lumieres, et dans le pouvoir de rendre les peuples heureux.— Non; ma foi, il n' y a que ces trois manieres d'être dignes de l' homme.

Je vous presse contre mon sein. Adieu.

JOURNU.

8. MARSEILLE, *le* 29 *Aout*, 1774.

Bon jour, mon bon ami, le premier Medicin, Ministre, et General de sa Majesté Abyssine. M. de Buffon, que vous avez trop favorablement prevenu en ma faveur, me demande si vos caisses doivent etre arrivées à Londres. Il tient à ce morceau de cuir de giraffe. Satisfaites le à ce sujet. Il me permet de depenser dans la mer que Moyse passa à pié sec, cinquante Louis d'or. J'ecris à Magallon; je lui ai fait un mémoire instructif et detaillé pour les plantes, coquilles, petrifactions, oïseaux, &c. et avec la lettre sur les medailles, le tout partira demain pour le rivage du Nil. Dans le tems je vous fairai part des suites.

M. de Buffon m'annonce votre depart pour *Kinnaird.* Ceci sent l'homme qui se dispose à tenir parole. Je cesse de vous inviter à la retraite, et au travail; vos dents ne sont pas dans le coeur, comme sont celles des courtisants, et je compte que Bruce ne dementira jamais l'espoir et la confiance de son ami de Marseille.

Buffon m'ecrit que Guys a cessé de lui donner de ses nouvelles, et qu'il croit que vous n'avez pas à vous louer de cet auteur. Je lui répons que j'ignore s'il y a lieu à quelque froideur. Sans autre éclaircissement convenez qu'avec des sots la politique est inutile, et qu'elle est dangereuse avec les gens d'esprit. Il vaut cent fois mieux avoir cette independance orgueilleuse qui ramene à la franchise, à la vérité, à la noble simplicité. Ho, mon cher, qu'il y a peu d' hommes! Si par une precieuse sensibilité des fibres nerveuses, je n'etois sans cesse ramené vers l'humanité, il y a vingt momens dans l'année où je fuirois la societé. Personne presque ne sçait être vrai par actiones et par paroles. Voulant être bien avec tous, les grands surtout, et ne voyant jamais

que soi, cet homme finira par n'avoir pour lui que quelque Seigneur plat et sot qu'il aura corrumpu par ses adulations. Je l' étonnai beaucoup l'autre jour en essayant de lui prouver qu'il n'etoit pas Negociant.

J'ai ecrit a Ste. Dominique pour des coquilles et j'ecris encore ce jour. Je ne vous ai pas oublié. On m' ecrit de Bourdeaux qu'on y a tant et tant cedé de coquilles qu'on ne peut m'en envoyer. Etes vous assés genereux pour me demander toutes les miennes ? Y a-t-il pour vous et moi deux sortes d'amitié.

Le croissant est humilié. Je voudrois que les Chretiens s'entendissent assés bien entre eux pour ordonner au Grand Seigneur de passer en Asie. Je suis persuadé que cela pouroit s'executer dans ce moment sans brûler une amorce. On rendroit à la raison et à la liberte quelques belles provinces que ces barbares detruisent.

Adieu, mon cher ami. Se vous frappez la medaille de la découverte du Nil, vous n' oublierez pas plus de songer à moi que lors de l'impression de vos ouvrages *.

Je vous couve dans mon coeur,

JOURNU.

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* In this letter notice is taken of several particulars which may perhaps require explanation. M. de Buffon had endeavoured to engage Michael, Mr Bruce's Greek servant, to return to Egypt, and to collect marine productions in the Red Sea for the king's cabinet of natural history. The skin of the giraffe, or camelopardalis, which M. de Buffon was so anxious to get, had been brought by Mr Bruce from Atbara. M. Guys of Marseilles, well known as the author of an elegant work on Greece, is the gentleman of whom M. Journu speaks in the course of the letter.

4. BOURDEAUX, *le* 15 *Sept.* 1775.

Mon bon ami, je viens de recevoir la lettre que vous m'avés écrite, le fillet à la main, le fusil en joue, les yeux sur les livres, an bord du lac de Arwhillery. Je suis en verité émû et jaloux de voir que vous allez mener la plus heureuse vie qu'il soit possible d'imaginer. Que je suis fâché de ne pouvoir m'aller etablir au bord de ce Lac pour m'instruire prés de vous, y gouter le plaisir de vous y voir heureux, de l'être moi meme de votre satisfaction, y faire ma cour à Madame, enfin comme vous dites de vous y encourager au travail. La satiété des peines du voyage, et le concours d'amis et d'ennemis que vous avez essuyés relâchent cet aiguillon de l'esprit qui aime a travailler: mais rendu à vous meme dans votre solitude, l'utilité publique, la gloire, le gout des sciences, vous rameneront à l'etude; et ce moment de lâcheté ne ressemblera pas à celui que produit l'extreme chaleur vers l'equateur.

Votre 7 chap. de Henoc, passe l'intelligence du siecle present. Cette génération d'hommes par les anges du ciel qui caressoient d'agreables filles est une idée qui a été en grande vogue anciennement. Joseph, et quelques perés de l'eglise parlent de les géants comme issus d'anges et des filles. Je n'ai pas foi aux géants anciens ni modernes, mais je soupçonne, avec beaucoup d'auteurs, que le mot Phenicien, Arabe, Chaldéen, Hebreu ou tel autre oriental qu'on a traduit par *gigantes* devoit l'être par brutaux, feroces, mechants; et que si l'on les a fait descendre du ciel par les anges, cela est une suite de la crainte que ces mechants avoient inspirée aux foibles qu'ils tirannisoient, et qui par ignorance et par laps du tems leur attribuérent une force, puis une origine surnaturelle. Le Prophete antidiluvien que vous donnerez à l'Europe ne faira pas fortune. Je suis fâché que l'eglise ne l'ait pas mis anciennement, dans les 5 precieux Siecles, au

nombre des livres sacrés; vous l'embrasseriez joliment et peûtetre un peu plus que ne fait l'apocalipse. Je serois bien curieux de converser avec l'auteur de ce livre, et ceux qui entre les hommes passoient alors pour les plus éclairés. Que de bêtise, de magie, de sortileges, d'escroqueries de prêtres, &c. je verrois pratiquées dans ces vieux tems! L'ignorance est la mère de la fraude et de la tirannie, comme la crainte est la mère des dieux, et l'audace celle des Rois.

La tournure de noyer les hommes pour les empecher d'etre mangés est digne de remarque.

J'apprens avec plaisir que le Roi vous a gratifié de quelques livres sterlins qu'il dérobé pour ainsi dire, à * * * * et au ministre. Il dit bien, c'est une dette qu'il paye, et il soldera avec vous par quelque charge en Ecosse qui, sans nuire à vos etudes, servira de temoignage qu'en Angleterre on croit qu'un sçavant remplit une tache utile quand il travaille. Je vous le répéte, point de place à la cour; craignez la; on y perd sa liberté tout au moins.

J'ai reçu, mon bon ami, depuis 4 jours cet excellent piano forte, en bon etat; mes filles vous en remercient; elles n'ont pas trouvé ici en Languedoc ni en Provence des fleurs artificielles de bon gout; elles les attendent de Genes, sous peu.

Dans la böete je mettrai les 4 medailles d'or que jai reçûes depuis 8 semaines. Je fairai en sorte de vous en donner la notice. Mon neveu ou moi tireront les 69 pataques sur M. Coutts, &c. de Londres.

J'ai pour vous 4 petits caissons de coquilles reçus du Caire; je vous les enverrai à Edinbourg, à Leith ou à Boulogne suivant que l'occasion le voudra; les olives nouvelles n'arriveront qu'en Novembre: Attendons les, pour ne pas perdre l'argent la peine, et le plaisir. Avez vous besoin de quelque autre chose? parlez.

De vos 4 petits caissons de coquilles j'en formerai une ou

deux caisses parfaitement conditionées ; et le tout arrivera à bon port. Je n'ai pas reçu de nouvelles ulterieures de Micael ; il n'etoit pas de retour ; et j'ignore encore ce qu'on lui aura compté pour les caisses de M. de Buffon.

Ne craignez rien de nous, durant vos affaires Americanes. Nous avons besoin de repos ; c'est l'etat naturel de l'homme, et pour vous et nous c'est devenû un état de necessité.

L'affair d'Algier ressemble à celles de Creci, Azincour, &c. *furia francese.* Je pense comme vous sur ces barbares. Mahomet aura éte regalé d'un beau *te deum.*

Toute l' Europe a les yeux sur votre Amerique aprés les avoir eu sur certaine presentation de votre ville de Londres au Roi. Nous ne pouvons, ni ne voulons demeurer indifferens. Cela s'appelle parler ; et fairoit croire que cette ville prend trop d' influence dans les affaires générales.

Mon bon ami j' attens d'apprendre votre marriage. Sans doute que vous allez choisir l'instant de votre maison achevée pour lui donner cette agréable parure. Puissiez vous être long tems heureux ; et me le faire sçavoir.

Je vous prie d'écrire votre voyage. Si je puis, j'irai vous voir et présenter à votre esprit le siecle present et la posterité. Bon courage ! et fixez les idées que nous devons avoir des Abyssins, Nubiens, &c. Donnez vous vos observations, et vos experiences et que le tout soit arrangé par cette philosophie humaine, genéralle, perspicace, et profonde. Je me persuade que, si vous voulez, ce que vous mettrez sur papier, aux yeux des lecteurs, paroitra gravé sur le bronze in eternum.

Multum vos amamus

JOURNU MONTAGNY.

A Monsieur, Monsieur James Bruce à *Arwhillery* *
en Ecose.

* This letter was written in answer to one from Mr Bruce, dated at

Translation of the preceding letter.

My good friend, I have received the letter which you wrote to me with the bridle in your hand, the gun by your side, and your eye on books, on the shore of the lake Ardwhillery. I am, in fact, jealous to see, that you are going to lead the most happy life imaginable. How sorry I am that I cannot establish myself on the side of that lake, to gain instruction from you, to taste the pleasure of seeing your happiness, to feel it myself, because you do, and to pay my court to your lady: in short, to encourage you, as you express it, to labour. The satiety that follows the sufferings which you have undergone in your travels, and the shock which you have sustained from the concourse of friends and

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Ardwhillery, his hunting seat, in the parish of Callender in Monteith. He was then employed in translating the book of Enoch from the Abyssinian, and had sent some chapters of it to his friend. From a passage in a letter written afterwards to Mr Bruce it would seem that he supposed that M. Journu did not encourage him to proceed in his translation. In reply to Mr Bruce's observations on a passage in the above letter beginning thus "Le Prophète antidiluvien que vous donnéres, &c. M. Journu writes as follows: "Prenez garde mon ami; si j'ai dit que le pauvre *Henoc* ne fairoit pas fortune, je n'ai pas voulu que vous crûssez que sa traduction seroit inutile ou mal reçûe. J'ai voulu badiner sur le nombre, l' origine, et la taille des Géants. Il n'est pas question de scavoir si l'on pensoit bien avant le deluge mais comment on pensoit. Continuez achever cette traduction qu'on est en France impatient de lire. Je le veux. Je vous en prie, et je vous le donne que vous me jugez mal si vous pensez que j'ai voulu vous eloigner de ce travail. Tout ce qui est antique me touche' parce que j'aime à me retracer quelques fois la suite et progrés de l'esprit humain. Le besoin a reuni les hommes. La crainte a fait les dieux. La force a fait les rois. Nos descendans verront ceque feront les lumieres. Heureux qui pouroit practiser avec la Mort pour venir passer sur terre la premiere année de chaque Siecle durant la suite des siecles, pour faire des compariasons. Ce seront là ma folie."

enemies, blunts the stimulus to exertion in the mind, but having recovered yourself in your solitude, public benefit, fame, and love of science, will recall you to study; and this moment of indolence will resemble, in no respect, that produced by the extreme heats near the equator.

Your seventh chapter of Enoch surpasses the understanding of the present age. That generation of men, sprung from the angels who caressed pretty girls, has been a favourite idea in ancient times. Josephus, and some fathers of the church, speak of the giants as the issue of the angels and the girls. I have no great faith in giants, either ancient or modern; but I suspect, along with many authors, that the Phenician, Arabic, Chaldean, Hebrew, or whatever other oriental word it be, which they have translated *giants*, should be rendered brutes, bullies, or rascals, and that, if they were thought to be descended from the angels, it was only in consequence of the fear which these knaves had excited in the weak people over whom they tyrannised, who, in the course of time, through ignorance, ascribed to them a supernatural strength and origin. The antideluvian prophet, whom you are about to introduce into Europe, will not succeed. I am sorry that the church, during the five first precious ages, did not put him among the sacred books. You would then have embraced him heartily, perhaps even more so than the apocalypse. I should be very much delighted to converse with the author of that book, or with any of them who, in those times, were reckoned the best informed. How much nonsense, magic, divination, and priestcraft, should I discover in those ages! Ignorance is the mother of fraud and tyranny, as fear is the mother of gods, and audacity, of kings*.

* It is to be regretted, that M. Journu, and many other men of abilities in France, had adopted these wild maxims without proper examination, and without attending to the consequences which they were likely to produce in practice.

The humour of drowning mankind, in order to preserve them from being eaten, deserves particular notice.

I learn with pleasure, that the king has gratified you with a few pounds sterling, which, if the expression may be allowed, he has stolen from *** the minister. He says right, it is a debt which he is paying; he will balance the account with some employment in Scotland, which, without interrupting your studies, will prove, that in England, a man of science, who travels, is considered as performing a task of utility. I repeat it to you, accept of no place at court. It is loss of liberty, if it is nothing more.

I received, my good friend, four days since, the excellent piano forte, in good condition. My daughters thank you for it: they have not got here, in Languedoc, nor in Provence, any artificial flowers in a good taste, but they expect some in a short time from Genoa.

I will put the four gold medals I received three weeks ago, into the box, and will give you notice about it. My nephew or I will draw on Coutts, &c. of London, for the 68 pataquas, when convenient.

I have four small boxes of shells for you, that came from Cairo. I will send you them to Edinburgh, by Leith, or to Boulogne, as opportunity offers. The new olives do not arrive before November. Let us wait for them, in order that we may not lose our money, trouble, and pleasure. Have you need of any other thing; mention it.

From the four small boxes of shells I will make up one or two larger, well sorted, and send you the whole. I have heard no more news of Michael. He was not returned, and I know not as yet what has been paid him for M. de Buffon's boxes of shells.

Be nothing afraid of us in your American affairs. We have need of rest. It is the natural state of man, and with you and us it is become a state of necessity.

The affair of Algiers resembles that of Cressy, Agincourt, &c. French fury. I think as you do of these barbarians. Mahomet must have been regaled with a fine *te deum*.

All Europe has its eyes upon your America, after having had them fixed on a certain address of your city of London to the king. We neither can nor will remain indifferent. That is speaking plain, and would insinuate, that the city already mentioned assumes too great an influence in general affairs.

My good friend, I expect to hear of your marriage. Undoubtedly you will give your house, as soon as it is finished, that lovely ornament. May you be long happy, and let me know it.

I beseech you to write an account of your travels. If I can, I will go to see you, and present to your mind the present age and the future. Take courage, and fix the ideas we are to have of the Abyssinians, Nubians, &c. Give us what you have observed, and experienced, completely arranged, by a humane, perspicuous, and profound philosophy. I am persuaded, that, if you please, what you shall commit to paper will appear to the reader engraved on bronze for everlasting.

Multum vos amamus,

JOURNU MONTAGNY.

BOURDEAUX, *le 5 Mars*, 1776.

Depuis bien des jours a dû partir pour Bologne un caisson contenant quelques olives et 30 roziers jeaunes. Le tems affreux qu'il a fait dans nos mers depuis un mois, me fait craindre mon cher ami, que ces bagatelles n'ayent pas égalé par leur diligence l'impatience que j'ai qu'elles vous parviennent assés tôt pour en faire usage. Vons m'en direz un mot dans le tems, à fin que les roziers au moins soyent remplacés, si ceux ci avoient souffert.

Je voudrois apprendre aussi si les fleurs artificielles, &c.

sont parvenuës à Londres, et si l'on en a été content. Ce qui se fait tant attendre ne réussit pas toujours.

Votre silence me deplaît, je vous le dis sans ménagement. La bâtisse, l'étude et l'hymen occupent-ils réelement tout votre tems? N'y a t-il pas un moment pour l'amitié, et penseriez vous qu'on puisse vous oublier quand on vous a connu? Vous auriez bien des torts avec moi si ces deux premiers points etoient la cause de co long silence. Si c'etoit le troisieme, je vous pardonnerois presque, parceque j'aime que tout ce qui a du raport à la tendresse, absorbe le coeur de l'homme. C'est le sentiment par excellence, parce qu'il est dans la nature, et qu'il remplit seul notre coeur. A cet égard je vous donne donc vos franches coulées.

Depuis le petit fragment d'Henoc que vous eûtes la complaîsance de m'envoyer, je n'ai pas eu de vos nouvelles; et j'attens d'apprendre par les papiers publics de chaque courier que cette traduction ait vû le jour. J'aime les géans moi; C'est ma folie; et quoique notre gout fait usage de tout ce qui peut le flater, ne croyez pas cependant que votre taille ait contribué en rien dans l' amitié que je vous porte. Il me faut des géans de la haute taille, et je ne veux rien rabattre de cinquante coudées. Redressez Henoc dans votre traduction pour peu qu'il manque quelque chose à cette mesure. Depuis qu'on a fait disparoitre ceux des Patagons nous n'avons que vous pour nous dedomager de cette perte.

Je ne vous parle pas de l'histoire de votre voyage, et de vos observations. Vous êtes plus interessé que moi à ce travail; vous en aurez seul l'honneur; mais pour le plaisir, non; j'en aurai ma bonne portion.

On m'assuroit l'autre jour que votre navigateur Coock alloit tenter le passage du N. O. à rebours, c'est à dire par la mer du sud; et qu'il n'ameneroit ni botaniste ni phisicien. Je suis surpris qu'aucun de tant de sçavans Anglois ne l'accompagne. Je ne le suis pas moins de la route. Il aura

une peine infinie pour arriver au 56 degré de la latitude nord ; son equipage et son vaisseau seront bien fatigués pour des mers que Beering a reconnues pour presque impracticables, pour des mers et des côtés inconnuës. Il me semble qu'il faut le munir necessairement de la permission d'hiverner à la Californie, ou au moins à Acapulco. A cet égard cependant tous les amateurs peuvent se fier à votre gout pour les grandes choses, et à votre adresse pour les faire réussir ; je m'y resigne et fais des voeux pour le succès.

Adieu mon cher ami. Je compte pour fort precieuses les occasions de vous être utile, et pour fort agreables celles d'avoir de vos nouvelles. Voyez si vous voulez me faire du plaisir. Cela vous est si facile, tenez tout comme à moi de vous aimer.

JOURNU.

No. XXXVI.

Letter to Mr Bruce from Dr Woide.

SIR,

La Croze's Egyptian Dictionary was published at the beginning of the year. The Egyptian Grammar lies ready for the press ; and I have made large supplements to the dictionary, and also prepared a dictionary of the dialect of Upper Egypt. My desire is to make this book as complete as possible. To this end I have wrote to Madrid, but find they have not a single Egyptian MS. in all Spain. From Egypt I am informed, that the Coptic patriarch will get some monk to copy the MSS. we want. And Father Georgi, at Rome,

writes me, that there are some MSS. there, not to be met with in either England or France.

I am at present about a dissertation on the Egyptian language and character. May I be permitted to hint, in the course of it, that amongst the resources I hope for is an Egyptian MS. in your possession, purchased by you at Thebes?

The late Dr Askew was so kind as to lend me, with permission to copy, his Sahidic MS. The account I gave of it in the Journal des Sçavans, 1774, and some other journals, will, I hope, enhance its value, and do no discredit to his kind indulgence towards me.

If you bring your MS. to town, may I hope, sir, for a similar favour from you? Should it be in Dr Hunter's museum, your permission obtained, I could have his leave to go there and take a copy of it. In case you bring it not with you, will you oblige me with a copy of only a few lines of it; since thus, I could immediately tell whether it be any part of the Bible? I would not fail to make grateful public mention of your kindness, and the public would owe you the obligation of having contributed to the perfecting of the Egyptian dictionary, which is not likely to be very soon reprinted. Some friends have inquired of me, whether they might expect soon to see the book of Enoch? I told them, they might hope for a publication of it, through your kind means.

I should be happy in an opportunity of evincing with what real respect, I am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

CHARLES G. WOIDE*.

Lissons Street, Paddington, Oct. 24, 1775.

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* The result of this application is noticed in the Fragmenta Novi Testamenti Sahidici, published after Dr Woide's death. He was profoundly

No. XXXVII.

Letter from Dr Solander to Mr Bruce.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday I had the pleasure of seeing and examining the Woginoos; the plant now in blossom has only male flowers, and seems to me to be of a new, and hitherto not described genus. In Linnæus' system it is to be ranked in his dioecia tetrandria; the character is as follows.

Calyx tetraphyllus. Foliola oblonga, apice truncata. Petala quatuor, oblonga, apice truncata. Stamina quatuor petalis breviora.

I have this morning ordered a drawing to be made of it for Mr Banks. From the drawing you was so good as to shew me, which had fruit on it, I suppose it was made from a female plant.

I believe Mr Acton has reared another plant, which I wish may bear female or hermaphrodite flowers. I am, with great regard, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

DANIEL SOLANDER.

B. Museum, Thursday morning, May 9, 1776.

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skilled in a very ancient language, little known indeed, but so necessary in the investigation of Egyptian antiquities, that nothing on that subject can be expected from those who want it.

No. XXXVIII.

Letters from the Rev. Dr Hugh Blair to Mr Bruce.

1. DEAR SIR,

I have at length got hold of your book, and gone through it all. As I was so great an advocate with you for the publication, you may naturally expect to have my opinion of it when published. With the rest of the world, I had great expectations from the work, and I can now say, that I have not been disappointed. Large as your book is, and in all its parts not equally interesting, I can assure you, I was sorry when I had done with it. It contains much information, and much curious matter. You have made a great addition to our knowledge of the geography of the world, and revealed a part of the earth that was before unknown.

There has been a sort of prejudice against your Abyssinian Annals; and I believe it is the part of the work the least generally read. I went through the whole, however, and was entertained with the history of that strange and savage people. There is much ecclesiastical information in that part of the work. Indeed, without reading that part of it which approaches to our own times, when we come to the reign of King Bacuffa, there is no understanding the subsequent in-

* Late professor of belles lettres in the university, and one of the ministers, of Edinburgh, well known over Europe for his sermons and elegant critical writings. Mr Bruce had asked his opinion of his work, which he gave in this judicious and friendly letter.

trigues of court, which occur in the history of your own adventures. I must observe, however, that in these intrigues, there occurs sometimes a confusion and intricacy, through the similarity, and sometimes the sameness, of Abyssinian names for different persons. In your memorable passage through the Nile with the king's army, for instance, before the battle of Limjour, in the third volume, you mention Ayto Aylo, and Tecla Mariam, as lost in the passage, and never more heard of. As I knew these persons to have been great friends of yours, I was very sorry for their death, and wondered that you did not lament more over it. But I found afterwards (if I am not mistaken), that your two friends of that name were still living, and that these must have been some other persons. We hear afterwards of a Tecla Mariam, a young lady of great beauty, who, I suppose, from the name, must have been a daughter of your friend the secretary. In that multitude of strange names, however, great distinctness in repeating them was requisite.

Your adventures in your return from Abyssinia, and the many perils you had to encounter, is a most interesting part of the work. By that time, however, I was become so much acquainted with your Abyssinian princes and chieftains, your Ras Michael, that terrible fellow, and your Messrs Fasil, Gusho, Powussen, &c. that I was sorry to leave the history of their adventures. You make me absolutely in love with your Ozoro Esther. Have you never heard a word of what is become of her, and your other old friends there? I should wish much to know. You drop a hint, that you had heard a report of King Tecla Haimanout's being defeated and slain. Considering the great connexion you had with him, and still more with these two brave men, Ayto Confu and Engedan, I wonder you did not manage some correspondence, by means of Jidda, to hear something of the state of that coun-

try after you left it. You see that you interested me in your Abyssinian story.

With regard to your being so much the hero of your own tale, which all the petty critics will be laying hold of, that is what I find not the least fault with. On the contrary, I have been always of opinion, that the personal adventures of a traveller in a strange country, are not only the most entertaining, but among the most instructive parts of the work, and let us more into the manners and circumstances of the country, than any information that general observation can give us. You have gone through more hardships, and have encountered dangers in a greater variety of trying circumstances, I am fully persuaded, than any man now alive. And whatever those, who are unacquainted with you, may think, they, who know, as well as I do, the uncommon powers both of body and mind which you possess, will find nothing but what is perfectly natural and credible, in any circumstances which you relate of your conduct.

In the course of your work you have introduced some discussions, which I see will be considered as unnecessary. What you have said in defence of Oriental polygamy is ingenious, and I really think well supported. I am in the same sentiments with you about what you call the paroxysm of modern philanthropy respecting the slave trade; but I do not see that you had much occasion to enter into that controversy. In the long dissertation in the first volume concerning the Cushites, their carriers the Shepherds, the origin of language, &c. you are very learned. But in a subject of such remote antiquity, the authorities are, to say the truth, very slender and doubtful. However, your discussion is as plausible as any of that sort of conjectural erudition can be.

Before your finally leaving Abyssinia, I expected you to have given us some general views of the country where we had been travelling so long; respecting the size and extent

of the empire; the number of its population, so far as you could conjecture; the climate and soil, in general; the character of the people; and any miscellaneous observations on manners which had been omitted. Several of these things, I confess, may be picked up in different parts of your narrative, and in the chapters where you give an account of the division of the Abyssinian provinces, &c. But still it would have been of great use to have brought together, in one view at last, such of these particulars, as I have suggested, in one chapter, that the reader might leave the country with a distinct and summary impression of it on his mind. If there be any desideratum in the book, I think it is this; and in a subsequent edition, I should be very glad to have such a chapter added. It is, for instance, a very singular circumstance in Abyssinia, that there is no sort of dancing practised, in which they differ so totally from the nations on the western coast of Africa*. You do mention this, but slightly; it would deserve, I think, to be more fully brought out, and would naturally lead into some discussion concerning the character and temper of the natives, their general manner of living and passing their time, &c. In conversation I remember your telling me, that Abyssinia was a kingdom not so large as France. I do not remember any general view of its extent or population in your book.

With regard to your style, I was so much carried along with the matter, that I gave no critical attention to it. In general, it appears to me easy, natural, and unaffected, which is all that, in a work of such length, is required.

Your description of what passes at an Abyssinian feast, was

* Dancing is practised in Abyssinia in religious rejoicings; and on some other occasions, by persons of all ranks, but it is not so common as among the negroes. The Arabs do not dance generally; it is reckoned indecent, except in buffoons, &c. E.

necessary to be given, as a historian, though it exhibits, I must confess, a very indecent scene, and gives a view of manners carried to a degree of public dissolution, which prevails not in Otaheite, nor in any regular society I ever read of. This, I think, might give room for such discussion on the manners of the people, as I wished to be added to your book. They are certainly, as you often hint, a very sad race. In what manner do the ordinary and common people live?

I am fresh come, as you may see, from reading your book, which I have just now returned to the bookseller who lent it me. Being full of your subject, I have thrown out all that at present occurred to me on it, with that entire freedom, which I know you will take in good part, though there are none of my observations of much consequence. It would have been a thousand pities if you had gone to your grave without giving so great an acquisition of discovery to the learned world.

I have a great inclination, in place of designing you, on the back of this long letter, "of Kinnaird," to design you "of Geesh, esq." Your lordship of the fountains of the Nile, I really think, ought to be perpetuated by this title. I would change the name of Kinnaird into Geesh; and I think you should obtain leave from the heralds' office to have some emblem of the fountains of that celebrated river brought into your coat of arms. Wishing you all health and prosperity, after your long labours, I have the honour to be, with great esteem and respect, my dear sir, your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

HUGH BLAIR.

Restalrig, June 17th, 1790.

2. DEAR SIR,

I return you, with many thanks, the several letters, with the communication of which you favoured me. I never

doubted that your Travels, the more they are known, would the more draw public attention, and possess that place in the public esteem which they justly merit. You have enlarged our knowledge of this habitable earth, and to much entertainment have added much instruction. The only desideratum I ever found in them was, as I mentioned to you formerly, some more general views of the kingdom of Abyssinia, of its extent, population, manners, &c. which I still wish you would have in your view in a future edition.

As to your letters, I am at a loss who this John Anderson is, who is so full of Russia. The opinion and testimony alone of the bishop of Carlisle, a man of much knowledge and good sense, is a whole host. I do not get the Monthly Review, and never saw that article in it, which has been so injurious to you. Indeed I seldom see any reviews, unless what is called the Analytical one, which a friend of mine takes, and commonly sends to me; and that review appears abundantly favourable to you. But I entirely agree with Dr Douglas, that the reviews are beneath your notice. They are always guided by the interest of some booksellers; and it is not on their opinions that the reputation of books and authors will depend. I am so much of this mind, that though I lately published a volume of sermons, I never gave myself the smallest trouble to inquire what the several reviewers said of it, or whether they took any notice of it at all.

I cannot tell you whether Walton's Polyglott Bible be in our library. It is seldom open at this time of the year. I am very happy to hear that your health is better. I hope it will soon become confirmed, and that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you in town in winter. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my dear sir, your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

HUGH BLAIR.

Restalrig, Sept. 29, 1790.

No. XXXIX.

Letters from the Honourable Daines Barrington to Mr Bruce.

1. DEAR SIR, May 1. 1788*.

I have, this morning, finished your journey from Masuah to Gondar, and shall continue to observe your injunction of making no observations till you carry me back to Cairo. I shall venture, however, to say, that you have interested me most thoroughly with regard to what relates to that unfrequented country, where I now find myself perfectly at home.

I cannot read these Travels without admiring the proper contempt you shew for your ignorant criticizers, by not taking notice of any of their objections, except by stating the facts which totally refute them.

Your maps are certainly geographical treasures, and, I hope, will be properly engraved under your directions, at the time, I flatter myself, we shall see you in town; and Elmsly undertakes that the engraver shall be ready to receive your commands. I flatter myself also that you will find our artists much improved since you have been in London, as their works have now such a sale over Europe, that alderman Boydell is supposed to have made L. 100,000 by the exportation of them, and L. 1000 by one landscape only, viz. that engra-

* The first manuscript copy of Mr Bruce's work was transmitted to Mr Barrington in spring 1778. Some changes were afterwards made in the arrangement, &c. and the greater part, if not the whole of it, transcribed for the press by Mr William Logan, a young man who resided with Mr Bruce, as his amanuensis, from the year 1786 till his death.

ved by Woolet from a picture of Wilson's, in which the story of Niobe is introduced.

You allude, in your journey from Masuah to Gondar, to the botanical and natural history part of your work, which I would be glad to see, at least know what may be the number of the pages, that we may calculate the number of volumes, which, perhaps, should not exceed three.

I observe, that there are several districts of Abyssinia, which are not comprehended in your reduced and general map. May not, therefore, a map be formed from the great one in my custody, which may relate to that kingdom only, and which may include most of the remarkable places and divisions of the empire, which you have mentioned *.

You have made me so thoroughly acquainted with Abyssinia, that I long much to see a head of Ras Michael, Ozoro Esther, &c. and am not without hopes that you may have some such drawings; as your own head for the frontispiece is not only very masterly, but excessive like. The old priest of the Nile, also, and many other incidents, represented by your pencil, would much embellish the work.

Believe me, Dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

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* This was not done; which is the more to be regretted, as Mr Bruce could have fixed, from personal knowledge, the position of many places which are vaguely set down in the maps of the Jesuits. Some curious routes in Habbesh might be extracted, with labour, from the MS. histories of the kings, that often mention a line of royal encampments, the distance between which is known, at a medium. The map is, indeed, defective, not in what Mr Bruce had seen, but in what he might have ascertained from the accounts of others. The editor has ventured to insert in it a few of the more remarkable omissions of this kind, but has avoided every idea of compilation, as being injurious to the certainty of the whole.

2. TEMPLE, *Jan.* 16. 1792.

I shall always be most happy to convey to you any intelligence, which I think may be interesting, and, at the same time, to enquire after your health and welfare.

Dr Herschel has now settled it that the ring of Saturn is double, and that the interval between the two rings is 2741 miles. And that the fifth satellite revolves round its axis in 79 days, 7 hours, and 47 minutes.

He also finds, that several stars, actually observed, have disappeared *.

A Major Houghton, sent out by the African society, has approached Tombuto, through an unfrequented country, and is to be conveyed thither at a stipulated price.

Give me leave, by all means, to recommend to you Lempriere's Account of Morocco. He was a Gibraltar surgeon, and was sent for to cure a prince of that country. His situation at the Moorish Haram somewhat resembles yours at Sennaar.

Ever yours,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

3. DEAR SIR, *March* 24.

The editor you enquire about is not R— but H—, who lives at the King's Arms, Paternoster-row.

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* Mr Bruce was very fond of astronomical knowledge, and had for some time a kind of temporary observatory erected for his amusement on his house at Kinnaird. He had even thoughts of building a small one on an eminence not far distant. His operations in this *sublime* study attracted the notice of some of the more illiterate of the country people around, who, with the wisdom commonly attending on ignorance, exclaimed, "The laird's gaen daft," a phrase, which signifies that he had lost his senses. The Abyssinians, with whom, no doubt, they would have blushed to be compared, were more charitable. They believed that he held an intercourse with heaven through "these long glasses directed to the sky."

The first three numbers of this compilation are already printed off in folio. Your travels are thus announced—"Bruce's most celebrated Travels, *complete*, into Abyssinia to discover the Sources of the Nile." The general title is Portlock's Collection of Voyages and Travels. If you have difficulty with *** why not reprint your own Travels under your own direction, and at your own expence?

Believe me, most sincerely yours,

D. B.

Major Houghton, the Niger traveller, is supposed to be dead; and Mr Browne is supposed to have been for some time on his road to Sennaar. I write you word on these occasions what I hear, but do not warrant any intelligence.

4. DEAR SIR, *May* 29.

I am just now informed, that Mr Browne reached Sennaar from Cairo; but is returned from not being able to procure camels. He means to set out again from the same place for Gondar by some other route. I hear nothing further about the Niger.

I am ever most sincerely yours,

D. B.

5. DEAR SIR, TEMPLE, *July* 9. 1792.

I am truly sorry to hear that you have suffered so much by exploring coal mines, but hope, by this time, you have recovered your health.

I do not hear any thing further about the new discoveries in Africa; and therefore believe, that they will turn out not to be very material. Perhaps as good an account as any is that of your countryman, Lithgow, who travelled for nineteen years together, in the very beginning of the last century, entirely by himself, and on foot. He set out from Fez, and travelled a great way to the S. W. with a caravan.

As for Mr S—t—n I cannot expect any thing from him, even if he should reach Gondar, as you state him to have no literature.

I rejoice to find that you think of publishing an octavo edition, and take the liberty of enclosing some lines of Ariosto to be prefixed to it. When incredulity proceeds from ignorance, I cannot allow it any quarter.

The European museum of last month contains more letters from that worthless fellow, Montague; from one of which it is very clear that he first propagated the report that all your drawings are those of Luigi.

Ever most sincerely yours,

D. B.

The Bishop desires to be held in your remembrance, as I am confident Dr Heberden does—As I cannot get a frank I transcribe the lines;

Chi va lontan da la sua patria vede
Cose da quel che già credea lontane:
Che narrandole poi non si gli crede,
E stimato bugiardo ne rimane;
Che 'l volgo sciocco non gli vuol dar fede
Si non le vede e tocchi, chiare e piane.

Ariost. cant. 7. stan. 1.

6. *July* 29.

An old school-fellow of yours, I do not mean myself, having seen the lines from Ariosto, which I sent you in my last, as perhaps proper to be prefixed to the new edition of your excellent Travels, has given me the following translation:

Who travels far will scarcely fail to see
Things far exceeding probability;
Which if he dares relate, the hearer cries,
"O he's a traveller; and, therefore, lies."

The dulness of the vulgar mind is such,
They're not convinced unless they see, or touch.

I have lately seen an officer, who, on the highest part of the island of Ascension, observed your *kantuffa*, and described it so, that I shewed him the engraving, which he immediately recognised.

The Lithgow, whose travels I ventured to commend so much in one of my last letters, lived near Stirling, and takes notice of some subterraneous ruins near Falkirk.

Ever most sincerely yours,

D. B.

7. DEAR SIR, BECKET'S, *Aug.* 22.

Having sent your last letter to the Bishop of Salisbury; in answer, he says, that a new edition cannot but be well received by the public. By the way you will be at liberty to do this by next July, and it may be ready for the press at that time.

As you propose engravings, why should they not be new subjects, as the expence will be the same?

Perhaps it may have escaped you that Le Brun, the painter and traveller, was abused by the envious of his time, as having employed other hands than his own—a charge which he treats with the proper contempt.

I am happy you have seen Dr Herschel, and hope you will return his visit, if it happen to suit your convenience.

Ever most sincerely yours,

D. B.

The Bishop of Salisbury desires to be kindly remembered to you.

I conclude the engravings of the first edition will not fold into an octavo.

8. DEAR SIR, LONDON, *Nov.* 16. 1792.

I am happy in every opportunity that gives me a pretence for asking how you do. I happened to go into Wilkinson's shop this morning (who sells maps chiefly), in Cornhill, where I saw a printed proposal for an engraving of you when at the source of the Nile. I am told, that you are to be represented in your African dress, drinking the king's health out of a shell, and your likeness to be taken from Heath's engraving in the frontispiece of your travels. I understand that the publication is soon to appear; as also an engraving of your portrait as Lord of Geesh. The engraver is to be Mr James Gillray of Chelsea, who is said to be a good artist.

If I can be of the least use about this, or any other matter, pray let me hear from you as soon as may be.

Believe me most sincerely yours,

D. BARRINGTON.

9. DEAR SIR, *Nov.* 29. 1792.

But one print of you is to be published, and this is intended to be creditable, and to do you the justice you deserve. I have already seen a proof, but as it will be a print of expence, I will now set out for Wilkinson's to state your offer to him.

On my return. I am to inform you that some proofs being worked off, no alteration can conveniently be made. I conceive the size to be, perhaps, 2 feet by 18 inches. There is landscape, and many figures; yourself the principal, drinking the king's health out of a cocoa cup. Except that the face is not like, I don't think you will disapprove of the other circumstances. The price will be a guinea, and you

may depend upon it, there is not the least intention of caricature.

I am happy to hear that the 8vo edition is to take place before it is long. As for a bookseller on this occasion, I really know no one whom I could recommend.

Houghton is a man of no literature, at least as I conceive; and formerly belonged to one of the African forts.

Believe me, most sincerely yours,

D. B.

Your dress in the print is picturesque, and of the Asiatic kind.

10. DEAR SIR, *Dec.* 6. 1793.

Truth will come out, from readers who peruse at a distance from its publication, which admits of no *cabal*. Hear Sir William Jones, in the third volume of the Asiatic researches now just imported, p. 4. "To the ardent and intrepid Mr Bruce," &c. [Sir William's encomium is given at full length, for which see the Vol. referred to.]

See also a dissertation by Lieutenant Wilford on Egypt, and other countries in the same compilation, where you are referred to almost in every page.

I am not without hopes therefore, that a new and cheaper edition of your most valuable work, will disseminate this information much more extensively than it can be at its present price. I hope you continue to enjoy good health, and am ever most sincerely yours,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

No. XL.

Inscription on Mr Bruce's monument in the church-yard of Larbert in Stirlingshire.

The natural burying-place of the Kinnaird family was in the church of Airth, where the long lines of de Airth and de Bruis are now joined together in equal oblivion. Both families being successively extinct, and no person having any interest in their memories, the very names of those *gallant knights* are totally forgotten in the place where they lived. Instead of being laid amongst his ancestors at Airth, Robert Bruce, the founder of the present family, was buried in the church of Larbert, which he had repaired, and in which he sometimes preached after his expulsion from Edinburgh by James VI. It is probable that his descendents were interred in the same place, till the death of David Bruce, father of the author of these Travels, who was buried at Edinburgh. This circumstance, along with the prevalent disuse of burying within churches, inclined Mr Bruce to erect a monument for himself and his family, in a different place, which he did in the year 1785. Over the vault, or tomb, he raised a beautiful monumental structure of iron, cast at the neighbouring foundery of Carron, adorned with emblematical figures and Greek inscriptions; perhaps the most ingenious work of the kind that ever was executed. On the north side of that monument is the inscription which follows:

Sacred to the memory
of
MARY DUNDAS,
who died the 10th day of February, 1785,
aged 31 years.
James Bruce of Kinnaird,
her husband, erected this
monument, a memorial
of his gratitude and affection,
and her virtues.

At her feet lies the body
of ROBERT BRUCE, *their eldest son,*
who died the 10th Nov. 1778.

(South side.)

In this tomb are deposited the remains of
JAMES BRUCE *esq. of Kinnaird,*
who died on the 27th of April, 1794,
In the 64th year of his age.
His life was spent in performing
useful and splendid actions;
He explored many distant regions,
He discovered the fountains of the Nile,
He traversed the deserts of Nubia.

He was an affectionate husband,
An indulgent parent,
An ardent lover of his country.
By the unanimous voice of mankind,
His name is inrolled with those,
who were conspicuous
For genius, for valour, and for virtue.

LIST

OF

MS. Journals, Common-place Books, and other authentic Writings, with which the printed narrative in these Volumes has been compared.

It is known, beyond any doubt, that Mr Bruce had only one assistant in the course of his travels. Mention has already been made of that person. At present it is necessary to add, that Signior Luigi kept the weather journals in Barbary, Egypt, and Habbesh; and assisted his master in making and calculating the astronomical observations, after which he entered them in the books. He designed much of the architecture, and many of the articles of natural history, as is evident from the first sketches, still preserved. The journals relating to Egypt and Abyssinia were kept in the following manner:

Luigi marked the state of the thermometer, winds, weather, &c. at particular times in the day, on sepa-

rate pieces of paper, and afterwards transcribed them into a large folio book kept for the purpose. The celestial observations were also recorded in this book; but no remarks on the countries. Mr Bruce had provided about a dozen of small books, of the duodecimo size, suited to the pocket, of which he always carried one, and entered in it his own observations as they occurred to him. He began these observations in Egypt; and continued them in successive pocket-books till he left Gondar. Having lost his assistant before that time, he was obliged, after the death of Luigi, to take charge of the weather journal; and he then began to write some of his remarks on blank pages in the large volume.

As soon as they left Cosseir on the Red Sea, Luigi began a set of journals in the Italian language, by his master's order, who wished to have their routes exactly measured by the time; number of computed miles; occasional observations; and other circumstances;—reserving for himself the historical part, freed from minute detail, and interspersed with general reflections. These journals of Luigi are written on the cream coloured paper on which the Arabs write their books. The sheets are somewhat larger than common letter-paper; the surface is very smooth, as if hot-pressed; the material, of which it is made, is probably cotton, at least, its texture resembles that; and the name of

charta bombycina is commonly given it by describers of Oriental MSS.

The journals written by both are as follows:

I. The large folio vólume, containing, 1st, The observations of latitude and longitude, made at different times, from Mr Bruce's leaving Negade and Badjoura, in Egypt, till his return to Gondar from the sources of the Nile, in November 1770. 2d, The weather journals, as in part published, beginning about the time Mr Bruce landed at Masuah, (September 1769), and continued, with very little interruption, till Dec. 1771, the month in which he left Gondar. All these are in Italian, written by Luigi, till the 14th day of February 1771, when Mr Bruce's hand appears in them. The rest of the book contains several pages, very closely written, on the history of Yasous Tallack, from the Ethiopic MSS.; the continuation of the history of Abyssinia, after the taking of Ras Michael; and a considerable number of memoranda, on the revenues and geography of the provinces, &c. These were written at Koscam, towards the end of Mr Bruce's residence in that place.

II. The journals by Luigi, mentioned above, in one 4to. volume, unbound, containing, 1st, Viaggio de Cosseir à Imbo ed à Gidda. 2d, Viaggio di Gidda à Loheia. 3d, Viaggio di Loheia à Massoua. 4th, Viaggio di Massoua à Gondar. 5th, Viaggio di Gondar à

Emfras. 6th, Viaggio alle Fontane del Nilo, fatto nel mese di Ottob. 1770, dal illustrissimo Cavaliere Signior Giacomo Bruce. This last contains a complete detail of the hours and days in which they travelled; of the villages, rivers, mountains, and, in short, every remarkable object they met with, from their leaving Gondar, Sunday, 28th October, 1770, at 9½ A. M. till their return, Sunday, 18th November, one o'clock, P.M. in the same year*. The journals from Cosseir, &c. to Gondar, are equally minute with the journal to the Sources. They are all in Italian, very closely written on a number of sheets of the smooth cream-coloured paper used in the East.

III. As a supplement to these, must be mentioned the pocket, or common-place books, in which Mr Bruce kept a separate historical account of the journies, and inserted his own observations.

No. 1. Contains the narrative of his journey up the Nile, and across the Thebaid to Cosseir, from the time the Canja set sail, (Tuesday, 13th December 1768), till he embarked on board a ship, on the Red Sea, bound for Tor (April 5, 1769). This comprehends all the observations he thought proper to commit to

* On the third page of this journal are the words, Viaggo alle fontane del Nilo, in lingua Abessica si chiamano Rass l' Abaj.—(Head of the Abay.)

writing on the antiquities of Egypt, which are extended in the printed work. The latter part of this pocket-book contains a great number of remarks on the Arabs; the history of the Sheriffe; polygamy; and the number of children, male or female, which he had found in the families of the Arabs, at Jidda, &c.

The descriptions of several fishes in the Red Sea are also interspersed.

No. 2. Is very miscellaneous. It was begun in Barbary; has some notes on Ras Sim, Ougela, the Leffah or Cerastes; a list of the drawings of architecture he made in Barbary; some extracts from Lucas's voyages; a description of the papyrus, Sidon, July 29, 1767; of the musa or banana tree, July 28, 1767. Many astronomical and mathematical precepts and formulæ; Boyle's heads of natural history, &c. Then, in the latter part, a long account of Messaad, Sheriffe of Mecca, and of his predecessors; of the Imam's territories, Mocha, Zibid; the Basha of Jidda; complexion and appearance of the Arabs in the south, &c.

No. 3. The voyage from Loheia to Massoua, including a description of Foosht and Dahalac. Then a great many particular observations made at Massoua, from September 19 to October 10, 1769. Next the journal of the way from Massoua to Gondar, by Arkeeko, Taranta, Dixan, Adowa, Fremona, Axum, Sire, Ad-

dergey, Mai-Lumi, and thence over Lamalmon to Gondar. All the rest of this book consists of numerous notes on the manners, dress, history, religion, geography, &c. of Abyssinia, many of which the author incorporated with the printed narrative of the travels; and those which he did not, will be found in the additional information, with the proper references.

No. 4. The journal of his route to the fountains of the Abay; and thence back to Gondar. It was kept to check that of Balugani, mentioned above.

No. 5. Is a quarto volume, containing about forty-five leaves, in red turkey leather, which comprehends the most interesting part of Mr Bruce's observations and transactions in Abyssinia. The first writing which apparently has been made in this book, is the journal of the weather at Axum in Tigre, January 18, 1769. It contains, however, a great variety of articles not arranged in any kind of order; such as the first interview with the king and Ras Michael, March 2, 1770, with a diary of the public events that took place at Gondar, till Mr Bruce left it for Emfras, April 4. The rumours about Boro Dagogo, and the Agows, Fasil, and the situation of Maitsha, with the successive cruelties of the Ras, occupy a considerable part of it. A sketch of the unfortunate journey from Emfras to Dara, in May, is also given. Then the successive events in the metropolis after the battle of Limjour; the re-

treat of Michael and the Tigre; the arrival of Gusho and Wundy Powussen; the election of the pretender Socinios; his conduct during the time of his short reign; and the trial of the murderers of Joas, follow. Next, the return of Michael and Teclahaimanout; the fall of Socinios; flight of the Iteghe; battles of Serbraxos; blockade of Gondar; and final surrender of the Ras and his army*. The remainder of the Abyssinian history, till Mr Bruce left the country, is found in the large folio volume of journals, inserted at Koscam in the end of July 1771.

Besides these particular topics, this book contains a variety of important remarks on ecclesiastical history, the Abuna, Acab saat, and dignitaries of the church. Many observations on the geography of the Galla country; the tribute of the provinces; and other subjects, are scattered among the larger narratives.

IV. Mr Bruce left Koscam, the residence of the Iteghe, December 26, 1771, in a declining state of health, which was very much increased by the dangerous situation of the country, the rainy season, and the prospect of a long journey beset with every danger. It is evident, from many circumstances, that he had no

* From the journal it appears, that Mr Bruce has admitted a slight anachronism into his account of the dates of these battles, which were fought a little earlier than the time stated in the work.

very sanguine hopes of ever arriving in Britain. His journals are at this time written in a careless and feeble hand; the entries are made with little order; and the ink so indifferent that it has faded greatly.

As he had now packed up all his books, and could not have access to them readily on the journey, he took a number of sheets of the large folio paper he had used for drawing, cut them longitudinally into three stripes in the half sheet, and then sewing these together at one end, wrote on them his journals and observations. He kept his ink fixed to his girdle; and, like Cæsar on a different element, carried his commentaries in his breast or hand.

These stripes contain the weather journals, and state of the thermometer for every day in the week, from his leaving Koscam till his arrival at Cairo. They are interspersed with a number of reports collected at Horcacamoot, Teawa, Beyla, and Sennaar, relative to the Arabs of Atbara, Suakem, and the Hababs; the river Abiad; Darfour; the Shillook; Nuba; Shangalla, &c. from black merchants, and such of the natives as had access to know these matters. The bearings and distances of places are very carefully given, either from report or personal observation. As Mr Bruce resided many months at Sennaar, it might be naturally expected, that he would write much on

that country. He accordingly has accumulated many observations on the manners, government, and religion, of the Funge. While he resided at Sennaar, we find him occasionally employed in inquiring into the antient history of Abyssinia; and it was in that city he first committed to writing his theory of the early civilization of the Cushites, and origin of the Indian trade. His account of his perilous route through the desert to Syene, and thence down the Nile to Cairo, concludes the journals *.

After he came to Cairo, he transcribed, from the stripes, his remarks on the causes of the inundation of the Nile, and the Bahar-el-Abiad, with the stations of his route through the desert, into a quarto book, bound in parchment, evidently for the purpose of composing the map.

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* Several attempts have been made by travellers to enter Habbesh by way of Masuah and Sennaar, since the year 1772, which have all proved unsuccessful. Ledyard seems, by his letters from Cairo, to have been in great hopes of reaching the latter of these places, but Mr Bruce, as appears by a number of marginal notes, written by him on the margin of the "Proceedings of the African Association, 1790," ridiculed his ignorance of the difficulties which he must have encountered, and considered him as a madman. Mr Browne found an entrance impracticable in 1794.

Nothing, therefore, is known of Abyssinia since Mr Bruce left it. Even the name of the present king is uncertain. Several Abyssinians have borne testimony to the general outlines of Mr Bruce's narrative; but as thirty years have now elapsed since his

It is certain, from the tenor of all these journals, that Mr Bruce uniformly acknowledged the Abiad to be a larger stream than the Abawi, on account of its rising in a rainy country; but never supposed that it was any thing more than an accessary branch of that river whose sources he had visited, and which the natives of Habbesh, Sennaar, and Atbara, joined in declaring to be the river of Egypt.

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departure, and many of the Abyssinians must be ignorant of his story and actions, little dependence ought to be placed on the reports of individuals, unless they were at Gondar during the time of his residence there. Some of them told Mr Browne, that Mr Bruce had never been at what is reckoned in Habbesh the true head of the Nile; which we know to be otherwise. The Abay has long been accounted the head of the Nile in Abyssinia. They confirmed the particulars of his splendid residence at court. his being governor of Ras el fîl, and his shooting through seven shields with a candle, &c. Vide Browne's Travels, Preface, p. 24.

TO

THE KING.

SIR,

THE study and knowledge of the globe, for very natural and obvious reasons, seem, in all ages, to have been the principal and favourite pursuit of great Princes; perhaps they were, at certain periods, the very sources of that greatness.

But as pride, ambition, and an immoderate thirst of conquest, were the motives of these researches, no real advantage could possibly accrue to mankind in general, from inquiries proceeding upon such deformed and noxious principles.

In later times, which have been accounted more enlightened, a motive still worse succeeded to that of ambition; avarice led the way in all expeditions;

cruelty and oppression followed: to discover and to destroy seemed to mean the same thing; and, what was still more extraordinary, the innocent sufferer was styled the Barbarian; while the bloody, lawless invader flattered himself with the name of Christian.

With your Majesty's reign, which, on many accounts, will for ever be a glorious æra in the annals of Britain, began the emancipation of discovery from the imputation of cruelty and crimes.

It was a golden age, which united humanity and science, exempted men of liberal minds and education, employed in the noblest of all occupations, that of exploring the distant parts of the globe, from being any longer degraded, and rated as little better than the Bucanneer, or pirate, because they had, till then, in manners been nearly similar.

It is well known, that an uncertainty had still remained concerning the form, quantity, and consistence of the earth; and this, in spite of all their abilities and improvement, embarrassed philosophers in many material investigations and delicate calculations. Universal benevolence, a distinguishing quality of your Majesty, led you to take upon

yourself the direction of the mode, and furnishing the means, of removing these doubts and difficulties, for the common benefit of mankind, in which they had all an equal interest.

By your Majesty's command, for these great purposes, your fleets penetrated into unknown seas, navigated by men, equal, if not superior, in courage, science, and preparation, to any that ever before had traversed the ocean.

But they possessed other advantages, in which, beyond all comparison, they excelled former discoverers. In place of hearts confused with fantastic notions of honour and emulation, which constantly led to bloodshed, theirs were filled with the most beneficent principles, with that noble persuasion, the foundation of all charity, not that all men are equal, but that they are all brethren; and that being superior to the savage in every endowment, it was for that very reason their duty to set the example of mildness, compassion, and long-suffering to a fellow-creature, because he was weaker, and, by no fault of his own, less instructed, and because he was therefore always perfectly in their power.

Thus, without the usual, and most unwarrantable excesses, the overturning of ancient, hereditary kingdoms, without bloodshed, or trampling under foot the laws of society and hospitality, your Majesty's subjects, braver, more powerful and instructed than those destroyers of old, but far more just, generous, and humane, erected in the hearts of an unknown people, while making these discoveries, an empire founded on peace and love of the subject, perfectly consistent with those principles by which your Majesty has always professed to govern; more firm and durable than those established by bolts and chains, or all those black devices of tyrants unknown even by name in your happy and united, powerful and flourishing kingdoms.

While these great objects were steadily conducting to the end which the capacity of those employed, the justness of the measures on which they were planned, and the constant care and support of the public promised, there still remained an expedition to be undertaken, which philosophers of all nations had long called for in vain.

Fleets and armies in this were useless; even the power of Britain, with the utmost exertion, could

afford no protection in a country so unhappily cut off from the rest of mankind, that even your Majesty's name and virtues had never been known or heard of there.

The situation of that country was barely known, and nothing more. Placed, as it is, under the most inclement skies; partly surrounded by impenetrable forests, where, from the beginning, the beasts had established a sovereignty uninterrupted by man; partly by vast deserts of moving sands, where nothing was to be found that had the breath of life, these terrible barriers inclosed men more bloody and ferocious than the beasts themselves, more fatal to travellers than the sands that encompassed them; and who, thus shut up, had long been growing every day more barbarous; and defied, by rendering dangerous, the curiosity of travellers of every nation.

Although one of the least considerable of your Majesty's subjects, yet not the least desirous of proving my duty, by promoting your Majesty's declared plan of discovery, as much as the weak endeavours of a single person, unprotected, forlorn, and alone, or at times associated to beggars and

banditti, as they offered, could promote it, I undertook this desperate journey, and did not turn an ell out of my proposed way till I had completed it. It was the first discovery attempted in your Majesty's reign. From Egypt I penetrated into this country, through Arabia on one side, passing through melancholy and dreary deserts, ventilated with poisonous winds, and glowing with eternal sun-beams, whose names are as unknown in geography as are those of the antediluvian world. In the six years employed in this survey I described a circumference, whose greater axis comprehended twenty-two degrees of the meridian, in which dreadful circle was contained all that is terrible to the feelings, prejudicial to the health, or fatal to the life of man.

In laying the account of these Travels at your Majesty's feet, I humbly hope I have shewn to the world of what value the efforts of every individual of your Majesty's subjects may be; that numbers are not always necessary to the performance of great and brilliant actions; and that no difficulties or dangers are insurmountable to a heart warm with affection and duty to his Sovereign, jealous of the honour of his master, and devoted

to the glory of his country, now, under your Majesty's wise, merciful, and just reign, deservedly looked up to as the queen of nations. I am,

SIR,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most faithful Subject,

And most dutiful Servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

INTRODUCTION *.

HOWEVER little the reader may be conversant with ancient history, in all probability he will know, or have heard, in general, that the attempt to reach the source of the Nile, the principal subject of this publication, has from very early ages interested all scientific nations. Nor was this great object feebly prosecuted; as men, the first for wisdom, for learning, and spirit (a most necessary qualification in such an undertaking) very earnestly interested themselves about the discovery of the sources of this famous river, till disappointment followed disappointment so fast, and consequences produced other consequences so fatal, that the design was entirely given over, as having, after the fairest trials, appeared impracticable. Even conquerors

* This introduction to the Travels is an extract from a memoir of his own life drawn up by the author, and addressed to his friend the late Hon. Daines Barrington. An account of that memoir has been already given; the extract had been considerably enlarged for the purpose of giving an account of Mr Bruce's tour in Barbary. The memoir is dated 1788. E.

at the head of immense armies, who had first discovered and then subdued great part of the world, were forced to lower their ambition here, and scarcely dared to extend their advances toward this discovery, beyond the limits of bare wishes. At length, if it was not forgot, it was totally abandoned from the causes above mentioned, and with it all further topographical inquiries in that quarter.

Upon the revival of learning and the arts, the curiosity of mankind had returned with unabated vigour towards this object, but all attempts had met with the same difficulties as before, till, in the beginning of his Majesty's reign, the unconquerable spirit raised in this nation by a long and glorious war, very naturally at the return of peace resolved itself into a spirit of adventure and inquiry, one of the first-fruits of which was the discovery of these coy fountains *, till now concealed from the world in general.

The great dangers and difficulties of this journey were well known, and likewise that it had been completely performed without disappointment or misfortune, that it had been attended with such an apparatus of books and instruments, as seldom accompanies the travels of an individual; yet sixteen years had elapsed

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* This epithet, given to the springs from which the Nile rises, was borrowed from a very elegant English poem that appeared in Dr Maty's review for May 1786. It was sent to me by my friend Mr Barrington, to whom it was attributed, although from modesty he disclaims it. From whatever hand it comes, the poet is desired to accept of my humble thanks. It was received with universal applause wherever it was circulated, and a considerable number of copies was printed at the desire of the public. Accident seemed to have placed it in Dr Maty's book with peculiar propriety, by having joined it to a fragment of Ariosto, then first published, in the same Review. It has since been attributed to Mr Mason.

without any account appearing, which seemed to mark an unusual self-denial, or an absolute indifference towards the wishes of the public.

Men, according to their various genius and dispositions, attempted by different ways to penetrate the cause of this silence. The candid, the learned, that species of mankind, in fine, for whom only it is worth while to travel or to write, supposing (perhaps with some degree of truth) that an undeserved and unexpected neglect and want of patronage had been at least part of the cause, adopted a manner, which, being the most liberal, they thought likely to succeed. They endeavoured to entice me by holding out a prospect of a more generous disposition in the minds of future ministers, when I should shew the claim I had upon them by having promoted the glory of the nation. Others, whom I mention only for the sake of comparison, below all notice on any other account, attempted to succeed in the same design by anonymous letters and paragraphs in the newspapers; and thereby absurdly endeavoured to oblige me to publish an account of those travels, which they affected at the same time to believe I had never performed.

But it is with great pleasure and readiness I now declare, that no fantastical nor deformed motive, no peevish disregard, much less contempt, of the judgement of the world, had any part in the delay which has happened to this publication. I look upon the impatience to see this work, of those whom I have already mentioned, as an earnest of their approbation of it, and a very great honour done to me; and if I had still any motive to defer submitting these observations to their judgment, it could only be that I might employ that interval in polishing and making them more worthy of their perusal. The candid and instructed public, the impartial and unprejudiced foreigner, are

tribunals merit should naturally appeal to: there it always has found sure protection against the influence of cabals, and the virulent strokes of envy, malice, and ignorance.

It is with a view to give every possible information to my reader, that I lay before him, in this introduction, the motives upon which these travels were undertaken, the order and manner in which they were executed, and some account of the work itself, as well of the matter as the distribution of it.

Every one will remember that period, so glorious to Britain, the latter end of the ministry of the late Earl of Chatham. I was then returned from a tour through the greatest part of Europe, particularly through the whole of Spain and Portugal, between whom there was then an appearance of approaching war. I was about to retire to a small patrimony I had received from my ancestors, in order to embrace a life of study and reflection, nothing more active appearing then within my power, when chance threw me unexpectedly into a very short and desultory conversation with Lord Chatham.

A few days after this, Mr Wood, then under-secretary of state, my very zealous and sincere friend, informed me that Lord Chatham intended to employ me on a particular service; that I might, however, go down for a few weeks to my own country to settle my affairs, but by all means to be ready upon a call. Nothing could be more flattering to me than such an offer; to be thought worthy, when so young, of any employment by Lord Chatham was doubly a preferment. No time was lost on my side; but, just after my having received orders to return to London, his lordship had gone to Bath, and resigned his office.

This disappointment, which was the more sensibly felt by me, as it was the first I had met with in public

life, was promised to be made up to me by Lord Egremont and Mr George Grenville. The former had been long my friend, but unhappily he was then far gone in a lethargic indisposition, which threatened, and very soon after put a period to his existence. With Lord Egremont's death my expectations vanished. Further particulars are unnecessary; but I hope that at least, in part, they remain in that breast where they naturally ought to be, and where I shall ever think, not to be forgotten, is to be rewarded.

Seven or eight months were past in an expensive and fruitless attendance in London, when Lord Halifax was pleased, not only to propose, but to plan for me a journey of considerable importance, and which was to take up several years. His lordship said, that nothing could be more ignoble, than that, at such a time of life, at the height of my reading, health, and activity, I should, as it were, turn peasant, and voluntarily bury myself in obscurity and idleness; that though the war was now drawing fast to an end, a competition full as honourable remained among men of spirit, who should acquit themselves best in the dangerous line of useful adventure and discovery. "He observed, that the coast of Barbary, which might be said to be just at our door, was as yet but partially explored by Dr Shaw, who had only illustrated (very judiciously indeed) the geographical labours of Sanson *; that neither Dr Shaw nor Sanson had been, or had pretended to be, capable of giving the public any detail of the large and magnificent remains of ruined architecture, which they both vouch to have seen in great quantities, and of exquisite ele-

* He was long a slave to the Bey of Constantia, and appears to have been a man of capacity.

gance and perfection, all over the country. Such had not been their study, yet such was really the taste that was required in the present times. He wished, therefore, that I should be the first, in the reign just now beginning, to set an example of making large additions to the royal collection, and he pledged himself to be my supporter and patron, and to make good to me, upon this additional merit, the promises which had been held forth to me by former ministers for other services.

The discovery of the source of the Nile was also a subject of these conversations; but it was always mentioned to me with a kind of diffidence, as if to be expected only from a more experienced traveller. Whether this was but another way of exciting me to the attempt I shall not say; but my heart in that instant did me the justice to suggest, that this, too, was either to be atchieved by me, or to remain, as it had done for these last two thousand years, a defiance to all travellers, and an opprobrium to geography.

Fortune seemed to enter into this scheme. At the very instant, Mr Aspinwall, very cruelly and ignominiously treated by the Dey of Algiers, had resigned his consulship, and Mr Ford, a merchant, formerly the Dey's acquaintance, was named in his place. Mr Ford was appointed, and dying a few days after, the consulship became vacant. Lord Halifax pressed me to accept this, as containing all sorts of conveniencies for making the proposed expedition.

This favourable event finally determined me. I had all my life applied unweariedly, perhaps with more love than talent, to drawing, the practice of mathematics, and especially that part necessary to astronomy. The transit of Venus was at hand. It was certainly known that it would be visible once at Algiers, and there was great reason to expect that it might be

twice. I had furnished myself with a large apparatus of instruments, the completest of their kind, for the observation. In the choice of these I had been assisted by my friend Admiral Campbell, and Mr Russel, secretary to the Turkish Company: every other necessary had been provided in proportion. It was a pleasure now to know, that it was not from a rock or a wood, but from my own house at Algiers, I could deliberately take measures to place myself in the list of men of science of all nations, who were then preparing for the same scientific attempt.

Thus prepared, I set out for Italy, through France; and though it was in time of war, and some strong objections had been made to particular passports solicited by our government from the French secretary of state; Monsieur de Choiseul most obligingly waved all such exceptions with regard to me, and most politely assured me, in a letter accompanying my passport, that those difficulties did not in any shape regard me, but that I was perfectly at liberty to pass through, or remain in France, with those that accompanied me, without limiting their number, as short or as long a time as should be agreeable to me.

On my arrival at Rome I received orders to proceed to Naples, there to await his Majesty's further commands. Sir Charles Saunders, then with a fleet before Cadiz, had orders to visit Malta before he returned to England. It was said, that the grand-master of that Order had behaved so improperly to Mr Hervey (afterwards Lord Bristol) in the beginning of the war, and so partially and unjustly between the two nations during the course of it, that an explanation on our part was become necessary. The grand-master no sooner heard of my arrival at Naples, than, guessing the errand, he sent off Cavalier Mazzini to London, where at once

he made his peace and his compliments to his Majesty upon his accession to the throne.

Nothing remained now but to take possession of my consulship. I returned without loss of time to Rome, and thence to Leghorn, where, having embarked on board the Montreal man of war, I proceeded to Algiers.

While at Naples, I received from slaves, redeemed from the province of Constantia, accounts of magnificent ruins which they had seen while traversing that country in the camp with their master the Bey. I saw the absolute necessity there was for assistance, without which it was impossible for any one man, however diligent and qualified, to do any thing but bewilder himself. All my endeavours, however, had hitherto been unsuccessful to persuade any Italian to put himself wilfully into the hands of a people constantly looked upon by them in no better light than pirates.

While I was providing myself with instruments at London, I thought of one, which, though in a very small form and imperfect state, had been of great entertainment and use to me on former travels; this is called a Camera Obscura, the idea of which I had first taken from the Spectacle de la Nature of the Abbé de Pluche. But the present one was constructed upon my own principles; I intrusted the execution of the glasses to Messrs Nairne and Blunt, mathematical instrument-makers opposite to the Exchange, whom I had usually employed upon such occasions, and with whose capacity and fidelity I had, after frequent trials, the greatest reason to be satisfied.

This, when finished, became a large and expensive instrument; but being separated into two pieces, the top and bottom, and folding compactly with hinges, was neither heavy, cumbersome, nor inconvenient, and the charge incurred by the additions and alterations

was considerably more than compensated by the advantages which arose from them. Its body was an hexagon of six feet diameter, with a conical top; in this, as in a summer-house, the draughtsman sat unseen, and performed his drawing. There is now, I see, one carried as a show about the streets, of nearly the same dimensions, called a Delineator, made on the same principles, and apparently an exact imitation of mine.

By means of this instrument, a person of moderate skill in drawing, but habituated to the effect of it, can do more work, and in a better taste, whilst executing views of ruined architecture, in one hour, than the readiest draughtsman, so unassisted, could do in seven; for, with proper care, patience, and attention, not only the elevation, and every part of it, may be taken with the utmost truth and justest proportion, but the light and shade, the actual breaches as they stand, vignettes, or little ornamental shrubs, which generally hang from and adorn the projections and edges of the several members, are finely expressed; and beautiful lessons given, how to transport them with effect to any part where they appear to be wanting.

Another greater and inestimable advantage is, that all landscapes and views of the country, which constitute the back-ground of the picture, are real; and in the reality shew, very strikingly indeed, in such a country as Africa, abounding in picturesque scenes, how much nature is superior to the creation of the warmest imagination or genius. Momentary masses of clouds, especially the heavier ones, of stormy skies, will be fixed by two or three unstudied strokes of a pencil; and figures and dress, in the most agreeable attitudes and folds, leave traces that a very ordinary hand might speedily make his own, or, what is still

better, enable him with these elements to use the assistance of the best artist he can find in every line of painting, and, by the help of these, give to each the utmost possible perfection; a practice which I have constantly preferred and followed with success.

It is true, this instrument has a fundamental defect in the laws of optics; but this is obvious, and known unavoidably to exist; and he must be a very ordinary genius indeed, and very lame, both in theory and practice, that cannot apply the necessary correction, with little trouble, and in a very short time.

I was so well pleased with the first trial of this instrument at Julia Cæsarea, now Shershell, about 60 miles from Algiers, that I commissioned a smaller one from Italy, which, though negligently and ignorantly made, did me this good service, that it enabled me to save my larger and more perfect instrument in my unfortunate shipwreck at Bengazi *, the ancient Berenice, on the shore of Cyrenaicum; and that was of infinite service to me in my journey to Palmyra.

Thus far a great part of my wants were well supplied, at least such as could be foreseen, but I still laboured under many. Besides that single province of ruined architecture, there remained several others of equal importance to the public. The natural history of the country, the manners and languages of the inhabitants, the history of the heavens, by a constant observation of, and attention to which, a useful and intelligible map of the country could be obtained, were objects of the utmost consequence.

Packing and repacking, mounting and rectifying these instruments alone, besides the attention and time necessary in using them, would have wholly occupied

* This will be explained afterwards.

one man, had these been continually necessary, which fortunately they were not, and he sufficiently instructed. I therefore endeavoured to procure such a number of assistants, as should each bear a share in these several departments, not one only, but three or four if possible. I was now engaged, and part of my pride was to shew, how easy a thing it was to disappoint the idle prophecies of the ignorant, that this expedition would be spent in pleasure, without any profit to the public. I wrote to several correspondents, Mr Lumisden, Mr Strange, Mr Byers, and others in different parts of Italy, acquainting them of my situation, and begging their assistance. These gentlemen kindly used their utmost endeavours, but in vain.

It is true, M. Chalgrin, a young French student in architecture, accepted the proposal, and sent a neat specimen of rectilineal architecture. Even this gentleman might have been of some use, but his heart failed him; he would have wished the credit of the undertaking, without the fatigues of the journey. At last, Mr Lumisden, by accident, heard of a young man who was then studying architecture at Rome, a native of Bologna, whose name was Luigi Balugani. I can appeal to Mr Lumisden, now in England, as to the extent of this person's practice and knowledge, and that he knew very little when first sent to me. In the twenty months which he staid with me at Algiers, by assiduous application to proper subjects under my direction, he became a very considerable help to me, and the only one that ever I made use of, or that attended me for a moment, or ever touched one representation of architecture in any part of my journey. He contracted an incurable distemper in Palestine, and died after a long sickness, after I entered Ethiopia, having suffered constant ill-health from the time he left Sidon.

While travelling in Spain, it was a thought which frequently occurred to me, how little informed the world yet was in the history of that kingdom and monarchy. The Moorish period in particular, when it was most celebrated for riches and for science, was scarcely known but from romances or novels. It seemed an undertaking worthy of a man of letters to rescue this period from the oblivion or neglect under which it had fallen. Materials were not wanting for this, as a considerable number of books remained in a neglected and almost unknown language, the Arabic. I endeavoured to find access to some of those Arabian manuscripts, an immense collection of which were every day perishing in the dust of the Escurial, and was indulged with several conversations of Mr Wall, then minister, every one of which convinced me, that the objections to what I wished were founded so strongly in prejudice, that it was not even in his power to remove them *.

All my success in Europe terminated in the acquisition of those few printed Arabic books that I had found in Holland, and these were rather biographers than general historians, and contained little in point of general information. The study of these, however, and of Maracci's Koran, had made me a very tolerable proficient in the language; a great field was opening before me in Africa to complete a collection of manuscripts, an opportunity which I did not neglect.

After a year spent at Algiers, constant conversation with the natives whilst abroad, and with my manu-

* A catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Spanish Royal Library was given to the public a few years after by Casiri, in two volumes fol. chiefly through the influence of Mr Wall. It contains large extracts from the works themselves; which renders it much superior to a mere list of unknown writers. E.

scripts within doors, had qualified me to appear in any part of the continent without the help of an interpreter. Ludolf * had assured his readers, that the knowledge of any oriental language would soon enable them to acquire the Ethiopic, and I needed only the same number of books to have made my knowledge of that language proportionate with my attainments in the Arabic. My immediate prospect of setting out on my journey to the inland parts of Africa, had made me double my diligence; night and day there was no relaxation from these studies, although the acquiring any single language had never been with me either an object of time or difficulty.

At this instant, instead of obtaining the liberty to depart which I had solicited, orders arrived from the king to expect his further commands at Algiers, and not to think of removing thence, till a dispute about passports was settled, in which I certainly had no concern, further than what regarded me as his majesty's actual servant, for it had originated entirely from the neglect of the former consul's letters directed to the secretary of state at home, before my coming to Algiers.

The island of Minorca had been taken by the French; and when the fort of St Philip surrendered, by an article common to all capitulations it was stipulated, that all papers found in the fort were to be delivered to the captors. It happened that among these was a number of blank Mediterranean passes, which fell therefore into the hands of the French, and the blanks were filled up by the French governor and secretary, who very naturally wished to embroil us with the Barbary states, it being then the time of war with France.

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* Ludolf, lib. i. cap. 15.

They were sold to Spaniards, Neapolitans, and other enemies of the Barbary regencies. The check * (the only proof that these pirates have of the vessel's being a friend) agreed perfectly with the passport filled up by the French governor; but the captor seeing that the crew of these vessels were dark-coloured, wore mustachoes, and spoke no English, carried the vessel to Algiers, where the British consul detected the fraud, and was under the disagreeable necessity of surrendering so many Christians into the hands of their enemies, and slavery.

One or two successful discoveries of this kind made the hungry pirates believe that the passport of every vessel they met with, even those of Gibraltar, was false, and issued to protect their enemies. Violent commotions were excited among the soldiery, secretly abetted by several of the residing neutral consuls. By every opportunity I had wrote home, but in vain, and the Dey could never be persuaded of this, as no answer arrived. Government was occupied in winding up matters at the end of a war, and this neglect of my letters often brought me into great danger. At last a temporary remedy was found; whether it originated from home, or whether it was contrived by the governor of Mahon and Gibraltar, was never communicated to me, but a surer and more effectual way of having all the nation at Algiers massacred could certainly never have been invented.

Square pieces of common paper, about the size of a quarter-sheet, were sealed with the arms of the governor of Mahon, sometimes with red, sometimes with black wax, as the family circumstances of that officer

* This is a running figure cut through the middle, like the check of a bank note.

required. These were signed by his signature, countersigned by that of his secretary, and contained nothing more than a bare and simple declaration, that the vessel, the bearer of it, was British property.—These papers were called *Passavants*. The cruiser, uninstructed in this when he boarded a vessel, asked for his Mediterranean pass. The master answered, "He had none," he had only a passavant, and shewed the paper, which having no check, the cruiser brought him and his vessel as a good prize into Algiers. Upon my claiming them, as was my duty, I was immediately called before the Dey and divan, and had it not been from the personal regard the Turks always shewed me, I should not have escaped the insults of the soldiery in my way to the palace. The Dey asked me, upon my word as a Christian and an Englishman, whether these written passes were according to treaty, or whether the word *passavant* was to be found in any of our treaties with the Moorish regencies? All equivocation was useless. I answered, "That these passes were not according to treaty; that the word *passavant* was not in any treaty I knew of with any of the Barbary states; that it was a measure necessity had created, by Minorca's falling into the hands of the French, which had never before been the case, but that the remedy would be found as soon as the greater business of settling the general peace gave the British ministry time to breathe." Upon this the Dey, holding several *passavants* in his hand, answered, with great emotion, in these memorable terms: "The British government know that we can neither read nor write, no, not even our own language; we are ignorant soldiers and sailors, robbers if you will, though we do not wish to rob you; war is our trade, and we live by that only. Tell me how my cruisers are to know that all these different writings and seals

are Governor Mostyn's, or Governor Johnston's, and not the duke of Medina Sidonia's, or Barcelot's, captain of the king of Spain's cruisers?" It was impossible to answer a question so simple and so direct. I touched then the instant of being cut to pieces by the soldiery, or of having the whole British Mediterranean trade carried into the Barbary ports. The candid and open manner in which I had spoken, the regard and esteem the Dey always had shewed me, and some other common methods with the members of the regency, staved off the dangerous moment, and were the means of procuring time. Admiralty passes at last came out, and the matter was happily adjusted; but it was an affair, the least pleasing, and the least profitable, and one of the most dangerous, in which I was ever engaged.

All this disagreeable interval I had given to study, in making myself familiar with every thing that could be necessary to me in my intended journey. The king's surgeon at Algiers, Mr Ball, a man of considerable merit in his profession, and who lived in my family, had obtained leave to return home. Before I was deprived of this assistance, I had made a point of drawing from it all the advantages possible for my future travels. Mr Ball did not grudge time, or pains, in the instruction he gave me. I had made myself master of the art of bleeding, which I found consisted only in a little attention, and in overcoming that diffidence which the ignorance how the parts lie occasions. Mr Ball had shewn me the manner of applying several sorts of bandages, and gave me an idea of dressing different kinds of sores and wounds. Frequent and very useful lessons, which I also received from my friend, Dr Russel, at Aleppo, contributed greatly to improve me afterwards in the knowledge of physic and surgery. I had a small chest of the

most efficacious medicines, a dispensary to teach me to compound others that were needful, and some short treatises on the acute diseases of several countries within the tropics. Thus instructed, I flatter myself, I did not occasion a greater mortality among the Mahometans and Pagans abroad, than may be attributed to some of my brother physicians among their fellow-Christians at home.

The Rev. Mr Tonyn, the king's chaplain at Algiers, was absent upon leave before I arrived in that regency. The Protestant ship-masters, who came into the port, and had need of spiritual assistance, found here a blank that was not easily filled up; I should therefore have been obliged to take upon myself the disagreeable office of burying the dead, and the more chearful, though more troublesome one, of marrying and baptizing the living; matters entirely out of my way, but in which the Roman Catholic clergy would contribute no assistance.

There was a Greek priest, a native of Cyprus, a very venerable man, past seventy years of age, who had attached himself to me from my first arrival in Algiers. This man was of a very social and chearful temper, and had, besides, a more than ordinary knowledge of his own language. I had taken him to my house as my chaplain, read Greek with him daily, and spoke it at times when I could receive his correction and instruction. It was not that I, at this time of day, needed to learn Greek, I had long understood that language perfectly; what I wanted was the pronunciation, and reading by accent, of which the generality of English scholars are perfectly ignorant, and to which it is owing that they apprehend the Greek spoken and written in the Archipelago is materially different from that language which we read in books, and which a few weeks conversation in the

islands will teach them it is not. I had in this, at that time, no other view than mere convenience during my passage through the Archipelago, which I intended to visit, without any design of continuing or studying there: But the reader will afterwards see of what very material service this acquaintance was to me; so very essential, indeed, that it contributed more to the success of my views in Abyssinia than any other help that I obtained throughout the whole journey. This man's name was Padre Christophoro, or Father Christopher. At my leaving Algiers, finding himself less conveniently situated, he went to Egypt, to Cairo, where he was promoted to be second in rank under Mark, patriarch of Alexandria, where I afterwards found him.

Business of a private nature had, at this time, obliged me to present myself at Mahon, a gentleman having promised to meet me there. I therefore sailed from Algiers, having taken leave of the Dey, who furnished me with every letter that I asked, with strong and peremptory orders to all the officers of his own dominions, pressing recommendatory ones to the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli, states independent, indeed, of the Dey of Algiers, but over which the circumstances of the times had given him a considerable influence.

The violent disputes about the passports had rather raised than lowered me in his esteem. The letters were given with the best grace possible, and the orders contained in them were executed most exactly in all points during my whole stay in Barbary. Being disappointed in the meeting I looked for at Mahon, I remained three days in Quarantine Island, though General Townsend, then deputy-governor, by every civility and attention in his power, strove to induce me to come on shore, that he might have an oppor-

tunity of shewing me still more attention and politeness.

My mind being now full of more agreeable ideas than what had for some time past occupied it, I sailed in a small vessel from Port Mahon, and, having a fair wind, in a short time made the coast of Africa, at a cape, or headland, called Ras el Hamra *, and landed at Bona, a considerable town, the ancient Aphrodisium †, built from the ruins of Hippo Regius ‡, from which it is only two miles distant. It stands on a large plain, part of which seems to have been once overflowed by the sea. Its trade consists now in the exportation of wheat, when, in plentiful years, that trade is permitted by the government of Algiers. I had a delightful voyage close down the coast, and passed the island Tabarca §, lately a small fortification of the Genoese, now in the hands of the regency of Tunis, who took it by surprise, and made all the inhabitants slaves. The island is famous for a coral fishery, and along the coast are immense forests of large beautiful oaks, more than sufficient to supply the necessities of all the maritime powers in the Levant, if the quality of the wood be but equal to the size and beauty of the tree.

From Tabarca I sailed and anchored at Biserta, the Hippozaritus ‖ of antiquity, and thence went to pay a visit to Utica, out of respect to the memory of Cato, without having sanguine expectations of meeting any thing remarkable there; and accordingly I found no-

* Hippo. Reg. from Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 109.
† Hippo. Reg. id. ib.
‡ Aphrodisium. id. ib.
§ Thabarca, id. ib.
‖ Plin. Ep. xxxiii. l. 9.

thing memorable but the name. It may be said, nothing remains of Utica but a heap of rubbish and of small stones; without the city the trenches and approaches of the ancient besiegers are still very perfect.

After doubling Cape Carthage I anchored before the fortress of the Goletta, a place now of no strength, notwithstanding the figure it made at the time of the expedition of Charles V. Rowing along the bay, between the Cape and this anchorage, I saw several buildings and columns still standing under water, by which it appeared that old Carthage had owed part of its destruction to the sea, and hence likewise may be inferred the absurdity of any attempt to represent the site of ancient Carthage upon paper. It has been, besides, at least ten times destroyed, so that the stations, where its first citizens fell fighting for their liberty, are covered deep in rubbish, far from being trodden upon by those unworthy slaves who are now its masters.

Tunis * is twelve miles distant from this: It is a large and flourishing city. The people are more civilized than in Algiers, and the government milder, but the climate is very far from being so good. Tunis is low, hot, and damp, and destitute of good water, with which Algiers is supplied from a thousand springs.

I delivered my letters from the Bey, and obtained permission to visit the country in whatever direction I should please. I took with me a French renegado, of the name of Osman, recommended to me by Monsieur Barthelemy de Saisieu, consul of France to that state; a gentleman whose conversation and friendship

* Liv. Epit. xxx. l. 9.

furnish me still with some of the most agreeable reflections that result from my travels. With Osman I took ten spahi, or horse-soldiers, well-armed with firelocks and pistols, excellent horsemen, and, as far as I could ever discern upon the few occasions that presented, as eminent for cowardice, at least, as they were for horsemanship. This was not the case with Osman, who was very brave; but he needed a sharp look-out, that he did not often embroil us where there was access to women or to wine.

One of the most agreeable favours I received was from a lady of the Bey, who furnished me with a two-wheeled covered cart, exactly like those of the bakers in England. In this I secured my quadrant and telescope from the weather, and at times put likewise some of the feeblest of my attendants. Besides these I had ten servants, two of whom were Irish, who having deserted from the Spanish regiments in Oran, and being British born, though slaves, as being Spanish soldiers, were given to me at parting by the Dey of Algiers.

The coast along which I had sailed was part of Numidia and Africa Proper, and there I met with no ruins. I resolved now to distribute my inland journey through the kingdom of Algiers and Tunis.—In order to comprehend the whole, I first set out along the river Majerda, through a country perfectly cultivated, and inhabited by people under the controul of government. This river was the ancient Bagrada *.

After passing a triumphal arch of bad taste at Ba-

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1189. It signifies the river of Cows, or Kine. P. Mela, lib. i. cap. 7. Sil. It. lib. vi. l. 140.

sil-bab, I came the next day to Thugga †, perhaps more properly called Tucca, and, by the inhabitants, Dugga. The reader, in this part, should have Dr Shaw's Work before him, my map of the journey not being yet published; and, indeed, after Shaw's, it is scarcely necessary to those, who need only an itinerary, as, besides his own observations, he had for basis those of Sanson.

I found at Dugga a large scene of ruins, among which one building was easily distinguishable. It was a large pillar of the Corinthian order, all of Parian marble, the columns fluted, the cornice highly ornamented in the very best style of sculpture. In the tympanum is an eagle flying to heaven, with a human figure upon his back, which, by the many inscriptions that are still remaining, seems to be intended for that of Trajan, and the apotheosis of that emperor to be the subject, the temple having been erected by Adrian to that prince, his benefactor and predecessor. I spent fifteen days upon the architecture of that temple, without feeling the smallest disgust, or forming a wish to finish it; it is, with all its parts, still unpublished in my collection. These beautiful and magnificent remains of ancient taste and greatness, so easily reached in perfect safety, by a ride along the Bagrada, full as pleasant and as safe as along the Thames between London and Oxford, were at Tunis totally unknown. Doctor Shaw has given the situation of the place, without saying one word about any thing curious it contains.

From Dugga I continued the upper road to Keff *, formerly called Sicca Venerea, or Venerea ad Siccam, through the pleasant plains, inhabited by the Welled

† Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. Procop. lib. vi. cap. 5. de Ædif.
* Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 6. § 15.

Yagoube. I then proceeded to Hydra, the Thunodrunum † of the ancients. This is a frontier place between the two kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, as Keff is also. It is inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, whose chief is a marabout, or saint; they are called Welled Sidi Boogannim, the "sons of the father of flocks."

These Arabs are immensely rich, paying no tribute either to Tunis or Algiers. The pretence for this exemption is a very singular one. By the institution of their founder, they are obliged to live upon lions flesh for their daily food, as far as they can procure it; with this they strictly comply, and, in consideration of the utility of this their vow, they are not taxed, like the other Arabs, with payments to the state. The consequence of this life is, that they are excellent and well-armed horsemen, exceedingly bold and undaunted hunters. It is generally imagined, indeed, that these considerations, and that of their situation on the frontier, have as much influence in procuring them exemption from taxes, as the utility of their vow.

There is at Thunodrunum a triumphal arch, which Dr Shaw thinks is more remarkable for its size than for its taste or execution; but the size is not extraordinary; on the other hand, both taste and execution are admirable. It is, with all its parts, in the King's collection, and, taking the whole together, is one of the most beautiful landscapes in black and white now existing. The distance, as well as the foreground, are both from nature, and exceedingly well calculated for such representation.

Before Dr Shaw's travels first acquired the celebrity they have maintained ever since, there was a cir-

† Ptol. Geo. lib. iv.

cumstance that very nearly ruined their credit. He had ventured to say in conversation, that these Welled Sidi Boogannim were eaters of lions; and this was considered at Oxford, the university where he had studied, as a traveller's license on the part of the doctor. They thought it a subversion of the natural order of things, that a man should eat a lion, when it had long passed as almost the peculiar province of the lion to eat man. The doctor flinched under the sagacity and severity of this criticism; he could not deny that the Welled Sidi Boogannim did eat lions, as he had repeatedly said; but he had not yet published his travels, and therefore left it out of his narrative, and only hinted at it after in his appendix.

With all submission to that learned university, I will not dispute the lion's title to eating men; but, since it is not founded upon patent, no consideration will make me stifle the merit of the Welled Sidi Boogannim, who have turned the chace upon the enemy. It is an historical fact; and I will not suffer the public to be misled by a misrepresentation of it; on the contrary, I do aver, in the face of these fantastic prejudices, that I have eat the flesh of lions, that is, part of three lions, in the tents of Welled Sidi Boogannim. The first was a he-lion, lean, tough, smelling violently of musk, and had the taste which, I imagine, old horse-flesh would have. The second was a lioness, which they said had that year been barren. She had a considerable quantity of fat within her; and, had it not been for the musky smell that the flesh had, though in a lesser degree than the former, and for our foolish prejudices against it, the meat, when broiled, would not have been very bad. The third was a lion's whelp, six or seven months old; it tasted, upon the whole, the worst of the three. I confess I have no desire of being again served with such a morsel;

but the Arabs, a brutish and ignorant folk, will, I fear, notwithstanding the disbelief of the university of Oxford, continue to eat lions as long as they exist.

From Hydra I passed to the ancient Tipasa *, another Roman colony, going by the same name to this day. Here is a most extensive scene of ruins. There is a large temple, and a four-faced triumphal arch of the Corinthian order, in the very best taste; both of which are now in the collection of the king.

I here crossed the river Myskianah, which falls into the Bagrada, and continuing through one of the most beautiful and best-cultivated countries in the world, I entered the eastern province of Algiers, now called Constantina, anciently the Mauritania Cæsariensis, whose capital, Constantina, is the ancient metropolis of Syphax. It was called Cirta †, and, after Julius Cæsar's conquest, Cirta Sittianorum, from Caius Sittius, who first took it. It is situated upon a high, gloomy, tremendous precipice. Part only of its aqueduct remains: the water, which once was carried into the town, now spills itself from the top of the cliff into the chasm, or narrow valley, above four hundred feet below. The view of it is in the King's collection; a band of robbers, the figures which adorn it, is a composition from imagination; all the rest is perfectly real.

The Bey was, at this time, in his camp, as he was making war with the Hanneishah, the most powerful tribe of Arabs in that province. After having refreshed myself in the Bey's palace, I set out to Seteef, the Sitifi ‡ of antiquity, the capital of Mauritania

* Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 106.
† Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 111.
‡ Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 108.

Sitifensis, at some distance from which I joined the Bey's army, consisting of about 12,000 men with four pieces of cannon. After staying a few days with the Bey, and obtaining his letters of recommendation, I proceeded to Taggou-zainah, anciently Diana Veteranorum *, as we learn by an inscription on a triumphal arch of the Corinthian order which I found there.

From Taggou-zainah I continued my journey nearly straight S. E. and arrived at Medrashem, a superb pile of building, the sepulchre of Syphax, and the other kings of Numidia, and where, as the Arabs believe, were also deposited the treasures of those kings. A drawing of this monument is still unpublished in my collection. Advancing still to the S. E. through broken ground and some very barren valleys, which produced nothing but game, I came to Jibbel Aurez, the Aurasius Mons of the middle age. This is not one mountain, but an assemblage of many of the most craggy steeps in Africa.

Here I met, to my great astonishment, a tribe, who, if I cannot say they were fair like English, were of a shade lighter than that of the inhabitants of any country to the southward of Britain. Their hair also was red, and their eyes blue. They are a savage and independent people; it required address to approach them with safety, which, however, I accomplished, (the particulars would take too much room for this place), was well received, and at perfect liberty to do whatever I pleased. This tribe is called Neardie. Each of the tribe, in the middle between their eyes, has a Greek cross marked with antimony. They are Kabyles. Though living in tribes, they have among the mountains, huts, built with mud and straw, which

* Vide Itin. Anton.

they call Dashkras, whereas the Arabs live in tents on the plains. I imagine these to be a remnant of Vandals. Procopius † mentions a defeat of an army of this nation here, after a desperate resistance, a remnant of which may be supposed to have maintained themselves in these mountains. They, with great pleasure, confessed their ancestors had been Christians, and seemed to rejoice much more in that relation than in any connection with the Moors, with whom they live in perpetual war: they pay no taxes to the Bey, but live in constant defiance of him.

As this is the Mons Audus of Ptolemy, here too must be fixed his Lambesa *, or Lambesentium Colonia, which, by a hundred Latin inscriptions remaining on the spot, it is attested to have been. It is now called Tezzoute: the ruins of the city are very extensive. There are seven of the gates still standing, and great pieces of the walls solidly built with square masonry without lime. The buildings remaining are of very different ages, from Andrian to Aurelian, nay even to Maximin. One building only, supported by columns of the Corinthian order, was in good taste; what its use was I know not. The drawing of this is in the King's collection. It was certainly designed for some military purpose, by the size of its gates; I should suspect a stable for elephants, or a repository for catapulta, or other large military machines, though there are no traces left upon the walls indicating either. Upon the key-stone of the arch of the principal gate there is a basso-relievo of the standard of a legion, and upon it an inscription, Legio tertia Augusta, which legion, we know from history, was quarter-

† Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. ii. cap. 13.
* Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 111.

ed here. Dr Shaw * says, that there is here a neat, round, Corinthian temple, called Cubb el Arrousah, the cupola, or dome, of the Bride, or Spouse. Such a building does exist, but it is by no means of a good taste, nor of the Corinthian order; but of a long disproportioned Doric, of the time of Aurelian, and does not merit the attention of any architect. Dr Shaw never was so far south as Jibbel Aurez, so could only say this from report.

From Jibbel Aurez nothing occurred in the style of architecture that was material. Hydra remained on the left hand. I came to Cassareen, the ancient Colonia Scillitana †, where I suffered something from hunger and from fear. The country was more rugged and broken than any we had yet seen, and withal less fruitful and inhabited. The Moors of these parts are a rebellious tribe, called Nememshah, who fled from their ordinary obligation of attending the Bey, and had declared themselves on the part of the rebel Moors, the Henneishah.

My intentions now were to reach Feriana, the Thala ‡ of the ancients, where I expected considerable subjects for study; but in this I was disappointed; and being on the frontier, and, in dangerous times, when several armies were in the field, I thought it better to steer my course eastward, and avoid the theatre of war.

Journeying east, I came to Spaitla §, and again got into the kingdom of Tunis. Spaitla is a corruption of Suffetula ‖, which was probably its ancient name

* Shaw's Travels, chap. viii. p. 57.
† Shaw's Travels, chap. v. p. 119.
‡ Sal. Bel. Jug. § 94 L. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 1.
§ Shaw's Travels, chap. v. p. 118.
‖ Itin. Anton. p. 3.

before it became a Roman colony; so called from Suffetes, a magistrature in all the countries dependent upon Carthage. Spaitla has many inscriptions, and very extensive and elegant remains. There are three temples, two of them Corinthian, and one of the Composite order; a great part of them is entire. A beautiful and perfect capital of the Composite order, the only perfect one which now exists, is designed, in all its parts, in a very large size; and, with the detail of the rest of the ruin, is a precious monument of what that order was, now in the collection of the King.

Doctor Shaw, struck with the magnificence of Spaitla, has attempted something like the three temples, in a style much like what one would expect from an ordinary carpenter or mason. I hope I have done them more justice, and I recommend the study of the Composite capital, as of the Corinthian capital at Dugga, to those who really wish to know the taste with which these two orders were executed in the time of the Antonines.

The Welled Omran, a lawless, plundering tribe, inquieted me much in the eight days I staid at Spaitla. It was a fair match between coward and coward. With my company, I was inclosed in a square in which the three temples stood, where there yet remained a precinct of high walls. These plunderers would have come in to me, but were afraid of my fire-arms; and I would have run away from them, had I not been afraid of meeting their horse in the plain. I was almost starved to death, when I was relieved by the arrival of Welled Hassan, and a friendly tribe of Dreeda, that came to my assistance, and brought me, at once, both safety and provision.

From Spaitla I went to Gilma, or Oppidum Chilmanense. There is here a large extent of rubbish

and stones, but no distinct trace of any building whatever.

From Gilma I passed to Muchtar, corruptly now so called. Its ancient name is Tucca Terebinthina *. Dr Shaw † says its modern name is Sbeeba, but no such name is known here. I might have passed more directly from Spaitla southward, but a large chain of mountains, to whose inhabitants I had no recommendation, made me prefer the safer and plainer road by Gilma. At Tucca Terebinthina are two triumphal arches, the largest of which I suppose equal in taste, execution, and mass, to any thing now existing in the world. The lesser is more simple, but very elegant. They are both, with all the particulars of their parts, not yet engraved, but still in my collection.

From Muchtar, or Tucca Terebinthina, we came to Kisser ‡, which Dr Shaw conjectures to have been the Colonia Assuras of the ancients: by this it should seem he had not been there; for there is an inscription upon a triumphal arch of very good taste, now standing, and many others to be met with up and down, which confirms, beyond doubt, his conjecture to be a just one. There is, besides this, a small square temple, upon which are carved several instruments of sacrifice, which are very curious, but the execution of these is much inferior to the design. It stands on the declivity of a hill, above a large fertile plain, still called the Plain of Surse, which is probably a corruption of its ancient name Assuras.

From Kisser I came to Musti, where there is a triumphal arch of very good taste, but perfectly in ruins;

* Itin. Anton. p. 8.
† Shaw's Travels, cap. v. p. 115.
‡ Cel. Geog. Antique, lib. iv. cap. 4. and cap. 5. p. 118.

the merit of its several parts only could be collected from the fragments which lie strewed upon the ground.

From Musti * I proceeded north-eastward to Tubersoke, thence again to Dugga, and down the Bagrada to Tunis.

My third, or which may be called my middle journey through Tunis, was by Zowan, a high mountain, where is a large aqueduct which formerly carried its water to Carthage. Thence I came to Jelloula, a village lying below high mountains on the west; these are the Montes Vassaleti of Ptolemy †, as the town itself is the Oppidum Usalitanum of Pliny. I fell here again into the ancient road at Gilma; and, not satisfied with what I had seen of the beauties of Spaitla, I passed there five days more, correcting and revising what I had already committed to paper. Independent of the treasure I found in the elegance of its buildings, the town itself is situated in the most beautiful spot in Barbary, surrounded thick with juniper trees, and watered by a pleasant stream that sinks there under the earth, and appears no more.

Here I left my former road at Cassareen, and proceeding directly S. E. came to Feriana, the road that I had abandoned before from prudential motives. Feriana, as has been before observed, is the ancient Thala, taken and destroyed by Metellus in his pursuit of Jugurtha. I had formed, I know not from what reason, sanguine expectations of elegant remains here, but in this I was disappointed; I found nothing remarkable but the baths of very warm water ‡ without the town; in these there was a number of fish, above four inches

* Itin. Anton. p. 2.
† Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 110.
‡ This fountain is called El Tarmid. Nub. Geog. p. 86.

in length, not unlike gudgeons. Upon trying the heat by the thermometer, I remember to have been much surprised that they could have existed, or even not been boiled, by continuing long in the heat of this medium. As I marked the degrees with a pencil while I was myself naked in the water, the leaf was wetted accidentally, so that I missed the precise degree I meant to have recorded, and do not pretend to supply it from memory. The bath is at the head of the fountain, and the stream runs off to a considerable distance. I think there were about five or six dozen of these fish in the pool. I was told likewise, that they went down into the stream to a certain distance in the day, and returned to the pool, or warmest and deepest water, at night.

From Feriana I proceeded S. E. to Gafsa, the ancient Capsa *, and thence to Tozer, formerly Tisurus †. I then turned nearly N. E. and entered a large lake of water called the Lake of Marks, because in the passage of it there is a row of large trunks of palm-trees set up to guide travellers in the road which crosses it. Doctor Shaw has settled very distinctly the geography of this place, and those about it. It is the Palus Tritonidis ‡, as he justly observes; this was the most barren and unpleasant part of my journey in Africa; barren not only from the nature of the soil, but by its having no remains of antiquity in the whole course of it.

From this I came to Gabs, or Tacape ||, after passing El Hammah, the baths which were the Aquae Tacapitanae of antiquity, where the small river Triton, by the moisture which it furnishes, most agreeably

* Sal. Bell. § 94.
† Itin. Anton. p. 4.
‡ Shaw's Travels, cap; v. p. 126.
|| Itin. Anton. p. 4.

and suddenly changes the desert scene, and covers the adjacent fields with all kinds of flowers and verdure.

I was now arrived upon the lesser Syrtis, and continued along the sea-coast northward to Inshilla, without having made any addition to my observations. I turned again to the N. W. and came to El Gemme *, where there is a very large and specious amphitheatre, perfect as to the desolation of time, had not Mahomet Bey blown up four arches of it from the foundation, that it might not serve as a fortress to the rebel Arabs. The sections, elevations, and plans, with the whole detail of its parts, are in the King's collection.

I have still remaining, but not finished, the lower or subterraneous plan of the building, an entrance to which I forced open in my journey along the coast to Tripoli. This was made so as to be filled with water by means of a sluice and aqueduct, which are still entire. The water rose up in the arena, through a large square hole, faced with hewn-stone in the middle, when there was occasion for water-games or naumachia. Doctor Shaw † imagines this was intended to contain the pillar that supported the velum, which covered the spectators from the influence of the sun. It might have served for both purposes, but it seems to be too large for the latter; though I confess the more I have considered the size and construction of these amphitheatres, the less I have been able to form an idea concerning this velum, or the manner in which it served the people, how it was secured, and how it was removed. This was the last ancient building I visited in the kingdom of Tunis, and I believe I may confidently say, there is not, either in the territories of

* Itin. Anton. p. 4.

† Shaw's Travels, p. 117. cap. 5.

Algiers or Tunis, a fragment of good taste of which I have not brought a drawing to Britain.

I continued along the coast to Susa, through a fine country planted with olive-trees, and came again to Tunis, not only without any disagreeable accident, but without any interruption from sickness or other cause. I then took leave of the Bey, and, with the acknowledgments usual on such occasions, again set out from Tunis, on a very serious journey indeed, over the desert to Tripoli, the first part of which to Gabs was the same road by which I had so lately returned. From Gabs I proceeded to the island of Gerba, the Meninx * Insula, or Island of the Lotophagi.

Doctor Shaw says, the fruit he calls the Lotus is very frequent all over that coast. I wish he had said what was this Lotus. To say it is the fruit the most common on that coast is no description, for there is there no sort of fruit whatever; no bush, no tree, nor verdure of any kind, excepting the short grass that borders these countries before you enter the moving sands of the desert. Doctor Shaw never was at Gerba, and has taken this particular from some unfaithful story-teller. The Wargumma and Noile, two great tribes of Arabs, are masters of these deserts. Sidi Ismain, whose grandfather, the Bey of Tunis, had been dethroned and strangled by the Algerines, and who was himself then prisoner at Algiers, in great repute for valour, and in great intimacy with me, often used to say, that he accounted his having passed that desert on horseback as the hardiest of all his undertakings.

About four days journey from Tripoli, I met the Emir Hadje conducting the caravan of pilgrims from

* Boch. Chan. lib. i. cap. 25. Shaw's Travels, cap. iv. p. 115.

Fez and Sus in Morocco, all across Africa to Mecca, that is, from the Western Ocean, to the western banks of the Red Sea in the kingdom of Sennaar. He was a middle-aged man, uncle to the present emperor, of a very uncomely, stupid kind of countenance. His caravan consisted of about 3000 men, and, as his people said, from 12,000 to 14,000 camels, part loaded with merchandise, part with skins of water, flour, and other kinds of food, for the maintainance of the hadjees; they were a scurvy, disorderly, unarmed pack, and when my horsemen, though but fifteen in number, came up with them in the grey of the morning, they shewed great signs of trepidation, and were already flying in confusion. When informed who they were, their fears ceased, and, after the usual manner of cowards, they became extremely insolent.

At Tripoli I met the Hon. Mr Frazer of Lovat, his Majesty's consul in that station, from whom I received every sort of kindness, comfort, and assistance, which I very much needed after so rude a journey, made with such diligence that two of my horses died some days after.

I had hopes of finding something at Lebeda, formerly Leptis Magna *, three days journey from Tripoli, where are indeed a great number of buildings, many of which are covered by the sands; but they are of a bad taste, mostly ill-proportioned Dorics of the time of Aurelian. Seven large columns of granite were shipped from this for France, in the reign of Louis XIV. destined for one of the palaces he was then building. The eighth was broken on the way, and lies now upon the shore. Though I was disappointed at

* Itin. Anton. p. 104.

Lebeda, ample amends were made me at Tripoli on my return.

From Tripoli I sent an English servant to Smyrna with my books, drawings, and supernumerary instruments, retaining only extracts from such authors as might be necessary for me in the Pentapolis, or other parts of the Cyrenaicum. I then crossed the Gulf of Sidra, formerly known by the name of Syrtis Major, and arrived at Bengazi, the ancient Berenice *, built by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The brother of the Bey of Tripoli commanded here, a young man, as weak in understanding as he was in health. All the province was in extreme confusion. Two tribes of Arabs, occupying the territory to the west of the town, who in ordinary years, and in time of peace, were the sources of its wealth and plenty, had, by the mismanagement of the Bey, entered into deadly quarrel. The tribe that lived most to the westward, and which was reputed the weakest, had beat the most numerous that was nearest the town, called Welled Abid, and driven them within its walls. The inhabitants of Bengazi had for a year before been labouring under a severe famine, and by this accident about four thousand persons, of all ages and sexes, were forced in upon them, when perfectly destitute of every necessary. Ten or twelve people were found dead every night in the streets, and life was said in many to be supported by food that human nature shudders at the thought of. Impatient to fly from these Thyestean feasts, I prevailed upon the Bey to send me out some distance to the southward, among the Arabs, where famine had been less felt.

I encompassed a great part of the Pentapolis, visited

* Ptol. Geog. p. 4.

the ruins of Arsinoe, and, though I was much more feebly recommended than usual, I happily received neither insult nor injury. Finding nothing at Arsinoe nor Barca, I continued my journey to Ras Sem, the petrified city, concerning which so many monstrous lies were told by the Tripoline ambassador, Cassem Aga, at the beginning of this century, and all believed in England, though they carried falsehood in the very face of them *. It was not then the age of incredulity; we were fast advancing to the celebrated epoch of the man in the pint-bottle, and from that time to be as absurdly incredulous as we were then the reverse, and with the same degree of reason.

Ras Sem is five long days journey south from Bengazi; it has no water, except a spring very disagreeable to the taste, that appears to be impregnated with alum, and this has given it the name it bears of Ras Sem, or the Fountain of Poison, from its bitterness. The whole remains here consist in the ruins of a tower or fortification, that seems to be a work full as late as the time of the Vandals. How or what use they made of this water I cannot possibly guess; they had no other at the distance of two days journey. I was not fortunate enough to discover the petrified men and horses, the women at the churn, the little children, the cats, the dogs, and the mice, which his Barbarian excellency assured Sir Hans Sloane existed there: Yet, in vindication of his excellency I must say, that though he propagated, he did not invent this falsehood; the Arabs who conducted me maintained the same stories to be true, till I was within two hours of the place, where I found them to be false. I saw indeed mice †,

* Shaw's Travels, sect. vi. p. 156.

† Jerboa, see a figure of it in the Appendix.

as they are called, of a very extraordinary kind, having nothing of petrifaction about them, but agile and active, so as to partake as much of the bird as the beast.

Approaching now the sea-coast, I came to Ptolometa, the ancient Ptolemais *, the work of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the walls and gates of which city are still entire. There is a prodigious number of Greek inscriptions, but there remain only a few columns of the portico of an Ionic temple, in the first manner of executing that order; and therefore, slight as the remains are, they are treasures in the history of architecture which are worthy to be preserved. These are in the King's collection, with all the parts that could be recovered.

Here I met a small Greek junk belonging to Lampedosa, a little island near Crete, which had been unloading corn, and was now ready to sail. At the same time the Arabs of Ptolemeta told me, that the Welled Ali, a powerful tribe, that occupy the whole country between that place and Alexandria, were at war among themselves, and had plundered the caravan of Morocco, of which I have already spoken, and that the pilgrims composing it had mostly perished, having been scattered in the desert without water; that a great famine had been at Derna, the neighbouring town, to which I intended to go; that a plague had followed, and the town, which is divided into upper and lower, was engaged in a civil war. This torrent of ill news was irresistible, and was of a kind I did not propose to wrestle with; besides, there was nothing, as far as I knew, that merited the risk. I resolved, therefore, to fly from this inhospitable coast, and save to the public,

* Itin. Anton. p. 4.

at least, that knowledge and entertainment I had acquired for them.

I embarked on board the Greek vessel, very ill accoutred, as we afterwards found, and though it had plenty of sail, it had not an ounce of ballast. A number of people, men, women, and children, flying from the calamities which attended famine, crowded in unknown to me; but the passage was short, the vessel light, and the master, as we supposed, well accustomed to these seas. The contrary of this, however, was the truth, as we learned afterwards, when too late, for he was an absolute landsman; proprietor, indeed, of the vessel, but this had been his first voyage. We sailed at dawn of day in as favourable and pleasant weather as ever I saw at sea. It was the beginning of November, and a light and steady breeze, though not properly fair, promised a short and agreeable voyage; but it was not long before it turned fresh and cold; we then had a violent shower of hail, and the clouds were gathering as if for thunder. I observed that we had gained no offing, and hoped, if the weather turned bad, to persuade the Captain to put into Bengazi; for one inconvenience he presently discovered, that they had not provision on board for one day.

However, the wind became contrary, and blew a violent storm, seeming to menace both thunder and rain. The vessel being in her trim with large latine sails, fell violently to leeward, and they scarce would have weathered the Cape that makes the entrance into the harbour of Bengazi, which is a very bad one, when all at once it struck upon a sunken rock, and seemed to be set down upon it. The wind at that instant seemed providentially to calm; but I no sooner observed the ship had struck than I began to think of my own situation. We were not far from shore, but

out of the reach of the sea, I suppose I fainted, for from that time I was totally insensible of any thing that passed around me.

In this critical situation, the Arabs, who live two short miles from the shore, came down in crowds to plunder the vessel. One of the boats was thrown ashore, and they had belonging to them some others; there was yet one with the wreck, which scarcely appeared with its gunnel above water. All the people were now taken on shore, and those only lost who perished in the boat. What first wakened me from this semblance of death was a blow with the butt-end of a lance, shod with iron, upon the juncture of the neck with the back-bone. This produced a violent sensation of pain; but it was a mere accident the blow was not with the point, for the small, short waistcoat, which had been made at Algiers, the sash and drawers, all in the Turkish fashion, made the Arabs believe that I was a Turk; and after many blows, kicks, and curses, they stript me of the little cloathing I had, and left me naked. They used the rest in the same manner, then went to their boats to look for the bodies of those that were drowned.

After having received this discipline, I had walked, or crawled up among some white, sandy hillocks, where I sat down and concealed myself as much as possible. The weather was then warm, but the evening promised to be cooler, and it was fast drawing on; there was great danger to be apprehended if I approached the tents where the women were while I was naked, for, in this case, it was very probable I would receive another bastinado something worse than the first. Still I was so confused that I had not recollected I could speak to them in their own language, and it now only came into my mind, that by the gibberish, in imitation of Turkish, which the Arab had uttered

to me while he was beating and stripping me, he took me for a Turk, and to this, in all probability, the ill-usage was owing.

An old man, and a number of young Arabs, came up to me where I was sitting I gave them the salute "Salam Alicum!" which was only returned by one young man, in a tone as if he wondered at my impudence. The old man then asked me, Whether I was a Turk, and what I had to do there? I replied, I was no Turk, but a poor Christian physician, a Dervish that went about the world seeking to do good for God's sake, was then flying from famine, and going to Greece to get bread. He then asked me if I was a Cretan? I said, I had never been in Crete, but came from Tunis, and was returning to that town, having lost every thing I had in the ship-wreck of that vessel. I said this in so despairing a tone, that there was no doubt left with the Arab that the fact was true. A ragged, dirty baracan was immediately thrown over me, and I was ordered up to a tent, in the end of which stood a long spear thrust through it, a mark of sovereignty.

The Shekh of the tribe, being in peace with the Bey of Bengazi, and also with the Shekh of Ptolometa, after many questions, ordered me a plentiful supper, of which all my servants partook, none of them having perished. A multitude of consultations followed on their complaints, of which I freed myself in the best manner I could, alledging the loss of all my medicines, in order to induce some of them to seek for the sextant at least; but all to no purpose, so that, after staying two days among them, the Shekh restored to us all that had been taken from us, and mounting us upon camels, and giving us a conductor, he forwardedus to Bengazi, where we arrived the second day in the evening. Thence I sent a present to the

Shekh, and with it a man from the Bey, intreating that he would use all possible means to fish up some of my cases, for which I assured him he should not miss a handsome reward. Promises and thanks were returned, but I never heard further of my instruments; all I recovered was a silver watch of Ellicot, the work of which had been taken out and broken, some pencils, and a small port-folio, in which were sketches of Ptolemeta; my pocket-book too was found, but my pencil was lost, being in a common silver-case, and with them all the astronomical observations which I had made in Barbary. I there lost a sextant, a parallactic instrument, a time-piece, a reflecting telescope, an achromatic one, with many drawings, a copy of M. de la Caille's ephemerides down to the year 1775, much to be regretted, as being full of manuscript marginal notes; a small camera obscura, some guns, pistols, a blunderbuss, and several other articles.

I found at Bengazi a small French sloop, the master of which had been often at Algiers when I was consul there. I had even, as the master remembered, done him some little service, for which, contrary to the custom of that sort of people, he was very grateful. He had come there laden with corn, and was going up the Archipelago, or towards the Morea, for more. The cargo he had brought was but a mite compared to the necessities of the place; it only relieved the soldiers for a time, and many people of all ages and sexes were still dying every day.

The harbour of Bengazi is full of fish, and my company caught a great quantity with a small net; we likewise procured a multitude with the line, enough to have maintained a larger number of persons than the family consisted of; we got vinegar, pepper, and some store of onions; we had little bread it is true, but still our industry kept us very far from starving. We en-

deavoured to instruct these wretches, gave them packthread, and some coarse hooks, by which they might have subsisted with the smallest attention and trouble; but they would rather starve in multitudes, striving to pick up single grains of corn, that were scattered upon the beach by the bursting of the sacks, or the inattention of the mariners, than take the pains to watch one hour at the flowing of the tide for excellent fish, where, after taking one, they were sure of being masters of multitudes till it was high water.

The Captain of the small vessel lost no time. He had done his business well, and though he was returning for another cargo, yet he offered me what part of his funds I should need, with great frankness. We now sailed with a fair wind, and, in four or five days easy weather, landed at Canea, a considerable fortified place at the west end of the island of Crete. Here I was taken dangerously ill, occasioned by the bathing and extraordinary exertions in the sea of Ptolemeta; nor was I in the least the better from the beating I had received, signs of which I bore very long afterwards.

From Canea I sailed for Rhodes, and there found my books; I then proceeded to Castelrosso, on the coast of Caramania, where I was credibly informed that there were very magnificent remains of ancient buildings a short way from the shore, on the adjoining continent. Caramania is a part of Asia Minor yet unexplored. But my illness increasing, it was impossible to execute, or take any measures to secure protection, or do the business safely, and I was forced to relinquish this discovery to some more fortunate traveller.

Mr Peyssonel, French consul at Smyrna, a man not more distinguished for his amiable manners than for his polite taste in literature, of which he has given se-

veral elegant specimens, furnished me with letters for that part of Caramania, or Asia Minor, and there is no doubt but they would have been very efficacious. What increased the obligation for this kind attention shewn, was, that I had never seen Mr Peyssonel; and I am truly mortified, that, since my arrival in England, I have had no opportunity to return my grateful thanks for this kindness, which I therefore beg that he will now accept, together with a copy of these travels, which I have ordered my French bookseller to forward to him.

From Castelrosso I continued, without any thing remarkable, till I came to Cyprus; I staid there but half a day, and arrived at Sidon, where I was most kindly received by Mr Clerambaut, brother-in-law to Mr Peyssonel, and French consul at this place; a man in politeness, humanity, and every social quality of the mind, inferior to none I have ever known. With him, and a very flourishing, well-informed, and industrious nation, I continued for some time, then in a weak state of health, but still making partial excursions from time to time into the continent of Syria, through Libanus, and Anti Libanus; but as I made these without instruments, and passed pretty much in the way of the travellers who have described these countries before, I leave the history to those gentlemen, without swelling, by entering into particular narratives, this Introduction, already too long.

While at Canea I wrote by way of France, and again while at Rhodes by way of Smyrna, to particular friends, both in London and France, informing them of my disastrous situation, and desiring them to send me a moveable quadrant or sextant, as near as possible to two feet radius, more or less, a time-keeper, a stop-watch, a reflecting telescope, and one of Dollond's achromatic ones, as near as possible to three-

feet reflectors, with several other articles which I then wanted.

I received from Paris and London much about the same time, and as if it had been dictated by the same person, nearly the same answer, which was this, That everybody was employed in making instruments for Danish, Swedish, and other foreign astronomers; that all those which were completed had been bought up, and without waiting a considerable, indefinite time, nothing could be had that could be depended upon. At the same time I was told, to my great mortification, that no accounts of me had reached from Africa, unless from several idle letters, which had been industriously wrote by a gentleman whose name I abstain from mentioning, first, because he is dead, and next, out of respect to his truly great and worthy relations.

In these letters it was announced, that I was gone with a Russian caravan through the Curdistan, where I was to observe the transit of Venus in a place where it was not visible, and that I was to proceed to China, and return by the way of the East Indies:—a story which some of his correspondents, as profligate as himself, industriously circulated at the time, and which others, perhaps weaker than wicked, though wicked enough, have affected to believe to this day.

I conceived a violent indignation at this, and finding myself so treated in return for so complete a journey as I had then actually terminated, thought it below me to sacrifice the best years of my life to daily pain and danger, when the impression it made in the breasts of my countrymen seemed to be so weak, so infinitely unworthy of them or of me. One thing only detained me from returning home; it was my desire of fulfilling my promise to my Sovereign, and of adding the ruins of Palmyra to those of Africa, already secured and out of danger.

In my anger I renounced all thoughts of the attempt to discover the source of the Nile, and I repeated my orders no more for either quadrant, telescope, or time-keeper. I had pencils and paper; and luckily my large camera obscura, which had escaped the catastrophe of Ptolemeta, was arrived from Smyrna, and then standing before me. I therefore began to cast about, with my usual care and anxiety, for the means of obtaining feasible and safe methods of repeating the famous journey to Palmyra. I found it was necessary to advance nearer the scene of action. Mr Abbot, British consul for Tripoli in Syria, kindly invited me, and after him Mr Vernon, his successor, a very excellent man, to take up my residence there. From Tripoli there is a trade in kelp carried on to the salt marshes near Palmyra. The Shekh of Cariateen, a town just upon the edge of the desert, had a contract with the Basha of Tripoli for a quantity of this herb for the use of the soap-works. I lost no time in making a friendship with this man; but his return amounted to no more than to endeavour to lead me rashly into real danger, where he knew he had not consequence enough to give me a moment's protection.

There are two tribes almost equally powerful, who inhabit the deserts round Palmyra; the one is the Annecy, remarkable for the finest breed of horses in the world; the other is the Mowalli, much better soldiers, but fewer in number, and very little inferior in the excellence of their horses. The Annecy possess the country towards the S. W. at the back of Libanus, about Bozra down the Hawran, and southward towards the borders of Arabia Petrea and Mount Horeb. The Mowalli inhabit the plains east of Damascus to the Euphrates, and north to near Aleppo.

These two tribes were not at war, nor were they at

peace; they were upon what is called ill-terms with each other, which is the most dangerous time for strangers to have any dealings with either. I learned this as a certainty from a friend at Hassia, where a Shekh lives, to whom I was recommended by a letter, as a friend of the Basha of Damascus. This man maintains his influence, not by a number of forces, but by constantly marrying a relation of one or both of these tribes of Arabs, who for that reason assist him in maintaining the security of his road, and he has the care of that part of it by which the couriers pass from Constantinople into Egypt, belonging to both these tribes, who were then at a distance from each other, and roved in flying squadrons all round Palmyra, by way of maintaining their right of pasture in places that neither of them chose at that time to occupy. These, I suppose, are what the English writers call Wild Arabs; for otherwise, though they are all wild enough, I do not know one wilder than another. This is very certain, these young men, composing the flying parties I speak of, are truly wild while at a distance from their camp and government; and the stranger that falls in unawares with them, and escapes with his life, may set himself down as a fortunate traveller.

Returning from Hassia, I would have gone southward to Baalbec; but it was then besieged by Emir Yousef, prince of the Druses, a Pagan nation, living upon Mount Libanus. Upon that I returned to Tripoli, in Syria, and after some time set out for Aleppo, travelling northward along the plain of Jeune betwixt Mount Lebanon and the sea.

I visited the ancient Byblus, and bathed with pleasure in the river Adonis. All here is classic ground. I saw several considerable ruins of Grecian architecture, very much defaced. These are already published by Mr Drummond, and therefore I left them,

being never desirous of interfering with the works of others.

I passed Latikea, formerly Laodicea ad Mare, then came to Antioch, and afterwards to Aleppo. The fever and ague, which I had first caught in my cold bath at Bengazi, had returned upon me with great violence, after passing one night encamped in the mulberry gardens behind Sidon. It had returned in very slight paroxysms several times, but laid hold of me with more than ordinary violence on my arrival at Aleppo, where I came just in time to the house of Mr Belville, a French merchant, to whom I was addressed for my credit. Never was a more lucky address, never was there a soul so congenial to my own as was that of Mr Belville: to say more after this would be praising myself. To him was immediately added Doctor Patrick Russel, physician to the British factory there. Without the attention and friendship of the one, and the skill and anxiety of the other of these gentlemen, it is probable my travels would have ended at Aleppo. I recovered slowly. By the recommendation of these two gentlemen, though I had yet seen nobody, I became a public care, nor did I ever pass more agreeable hours than with Mr Thomas the French consul, his family, and the merchants established there. From Doctor Russel I was supplied with what I wanted, some books, and much instruction. Nobody knew the diseases of the East so well; and perhaps my escaping the fever at Aleppo was not the only time in which I owed him my life.

Being now restored to health, my first object was the journey to Palmyra. The Mowalli were encamped at no great distance from Aleppo. It was without difficulty I found a sure way to explain my wishes, and to secure the assistance of Mahomet Kerfan, the Shekh; but from him I learned, in a manner that I could not

doubt, that the way I intended to go down to Palmyra from the north was tedious, troublesome, uncertain, and expensive, and that he did not wish me to undertake it at that time. It is quite superfluous in these cases to press for particular information; an Arab conductor, who proceeds with caution, surely means you well. He told me that he would leave a friend in the house of a certain Arab at Hamath *, about half-way to Palmyra, and if in something more than a month I came there, and found that Arab, I might rely upon him without fear, and he would conduct me in safety to Palmyra.

I returned to Tripoli, and at the time appointed set out for Hamath, found my conductor, and proceeded to Hassia. Coming from Aleppo, I had not passed the lower way again by Antioch. The river which passes through the plains where they cultivate their best tobacco, is the Orontes; it was so swollen with rain, which had fallen in the mountains, that the ford was no longer visible. Stopping at two miserable huts inhabited by a base set called Turcomans, I asked the master of one of them to shew me the ford, which he very readily undertook to do, and I went, for the length of some yards, on rough, but very hard and solid ground. The current before me was, however, so violent, that I had more than once a desire to turn back, but, not suspecting any thing, I continued, when on a sudden man and horse fell out of their depth into the river.

I had a rifled gun slung across my shoulder, with a buff belt and swivel. As long as that held, it so embarrassed my hands and legs that I could not swim, and must have sunk; but luckily the swivel gave way,

* The north boundary of the Holy Land.

the gun fell to the bottom of the river, and was picked up in dry weather by order of the Basha, at the desire of the French merchants, who kept it for a relic. I and my horse swam separately ashore; at a small distance from thence was a caphar *, or turnpike, to which, when I came to dry myself, the man told me, that the place where I had crossed was the remains of a stone bridge now entirely carried away; where I had first entered was one of the wings of the bridge, from which I had fallen into the space the first arch occupied, one of the deepest parts of the river; that the people who had misguided me were an infamous set of banditti, and that I might be thankful on many accounts that I had made such an escape from them, and was now on the opposite side. I then prevailed on the caphar-man to shew my servants the right ford.

From Hassia we proceeded with our conductor to Cariateen, where there is an immense spring of fine water, which overflows into a large pool. Here, to our great surprise, we found about two thousand of the Annecy encamped, who were quarrelling with Hassan our old friend, the kelp-merchant. This was nothing to us; the quarrel between the Mowalli and Annecy had it seems been made up; for an old man from each tribe on horseback accompanied us to Palmyra: the tribes gave us camels for more commodious travelling, and we passed the desert between Cariateen and Palmyra in a day and two nights, going constantly without sleeping.

Just before we came in sight of the ruins, we ascend-

* It is a post where a party of men are kept to receive a contribution, for maintaining the security of the roads, from all passengers.

ed a hill of white gritty stone, in a very narrow-winding road, such as we call a pass, and, when arrived at the top, there opened before us the most astonishing, stupendous sight that perhaps ever appeared to mortal eyes. The whole plain below, which was very extensive, was covered so thick with magnificent buildings, as that one seemed to touch the other, all of fine proportions, all of agreeable forms, all composed of white stones, which at that distance appeared like marble. At the end of it stood the palace of the sun, a building worthy to close so magnificent a scene.

It was impossible for two persons to think of designing ornaments, or taking measures, and there seemed the less occasion for this as Mr Wood had done this part already. I had no intention to publish any thing concerning Palmyra; besides, it would have been a violation of my first principle, not to interfere with the labours of others: and if this was a rule I inviolably observed as to strangers, every sentiment of reason and gratitude obliged me to pay the same respect to the labours of Mr Wood, my friend.

I divided Palmyra into six angular views, always bringing forward to the first ground an edifice, or principal group of columns, that deserved it. The state of the buildings is particularly favourable for this purpose. The columns are all uncovered to the very bases, the soil upon which the town is built being hard and fixed ground. These views are all upon large paper; the columns in some of them are a foot long; the figures in the fore-ground of the temple of the sun are some of them near four inches.

Before our departure from Palmyra, I observed its latitude with a Hadley's quadrant from reflection. The instrument had probably warped in carriage, as the index went unpleasantly, and as it were by starts; so that I will not pretend to give this for an exact obser-

vation; yet, after all the care I could take, I only apprehended that 33° 58′ for the latitude of Palmyra, would be nearer the truth than any other. Again, that the distance from the coast in a straight line, being 160 miles, and that remarkable mountainous cape the coast of Syria, between Byblus and Tripoli, known by the name of Theoprosopon, being nearly due west, or under the same parallel with Palmyra, I conceive the longitude of that city to be nearly 37° 9′ from the observatory of Greenwich.

From Palmyra I proceeded to Baalbec, distant about 130 miles, and arrived the same day that Emir Yousef had reduced the town and settled the government, and was decamping from it on his return home. This was the luckiest moment possible for me, as I was the Emir's friend, and I obtained liberty to do there what I pleased, and to this indulgence was added the great convenience of the Emir's absence, so that I was not troubled by the observance of any court-ceremony or attendance, or teazed with impertinent questions.

Baalbec is pleasantly situated in a plain on the west of Anti Libanus, is finely watered, and abounds in gardens. It is about fifty miles from Hassia, and about thirty from the nearest sea-coast, which is the situation of the ancient Byblus. The interior of the great temple of Baalbec, supposed to be that of the sun, surpasses any thing at Palmyra, indeed any sculpture I ever remember to have seen in stone. All these views of Palmyra and Baalbec are now in the king's collection. They are the most magnificent offering in their line that ever was made by one subject to his sovereign.

Passing by Tyre, from curiosity only, I came to be a mournful witness of the truth of that prophecy, That Tyre, the queen of nations, should be a rock for

fishers to dry their nets on *. Two wretched fishermen, with miserable nets, having just given over their occupation with very little success, I engaged them, at the expence of their nets, to drag in those places where they said shell-fish might be caught, in hopes to have brought out one of the famous purple-fish. I did not succeed; but in this I was, I believe, as lucky as the old fishers had ever been. The purple fish at Tyre seems to have been only a concealment of their knowledge of cochineal, as, had they depended upon the fish for their dye, if the whole city of Tyre applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year. Much fatigued, but satisfied beyond measure with what I had seen, I arrived in perfect health, and in the gayest humour possible, at the hospitable mansion of M. Clerambaut at Sidon.

I found there letters from Europe, which were in a very different style from the last. From London, my friend Mr Russel acquainted me, that he had sent me an excellent reflecting telescope of two feet focal length, moved by rack-work, and the last Mr Short ever made, which proved a very excellent instrument; also an achromatic telescope by Dolland, nearly equal to a three-feet reflector, with a foot, or stand, very artificially composed of rulers fixed together by screws. I think this instrument might be improved by shortening the three principal legs of it. If the legs of its stand were about six inches shorter, this, without inconvenience, would take away the little shake it has when used in the outer air. Perhaps this defect is not in all telescopes of this construction. It is a pleasant

* Ezek. chap. xxvi. ver. 5.

succeed in removing that opprobrium of travellers and geographers, by discovering the sources of the Nile, one most unlucky accident, at a most unlucky time, should frustrate the most promising endeavours. That prince, distinguished for every good quality of the heart, for benevolence, beneficence, and a desire of promoting and protecting learning, ordered a moveable quadrant of his own military academy at Marseilles, as the nearest and most convenient port of embarkation, to be taken down and sent to me at Alexandria.

With this I received a letter from Mr Russel, which informed me that astronomers had begun to cool in the sanguine expectations of discovering the precise quantity of the sun's parallax by observation of the transit of Venus, from some apprehension that the errors of the observers would probably be more than the quantity of the equation sought, and that they now ardently wished for a journey into Abyssinia, rather than an attempt to settle a nicety for which the learned had begun to think the accuracy of our instruments was not sufficient. A letter from my correspondent at Alexandria also acquainted me, that the quadrant, and all the other instruments, were in that city.

What followed is the voyage itself, the subject of the present publication. I am happy, by communicating every previous circumstance that occurred to me, to have done all in my power to remove the greatest part of the reasonable doubts and difficulties which might have perplexed the reader's mind, or biassed his judgment, in the perusal of the narrative of the journey; and in this I hope I have succeeded.

I have now one remaining part of my promise to fulfil, to account for the delay in the publication. It will not be thought surprising to any that shall reflect on the distant, dreary, and desert ways by which all

letters were necessarily to pass, or the civil wars then raging in Abyssinia, the robberies and violences inseparable from a total dissolution of government, such as happened in my time, that no accounts, for many years, one excepted, ever arrived in Europe. One letter, accompanied by a bill for a sum borrowed from a Greek at Gondar, found its way to Cairo; all the rest had miscarried: my friends at home gave me up for dead; and, as my death must have happened in circumstances difficult to be proved, my property became as it were an *hereditas jacens*, without an owner, abandoned in common to those whose original title extended no further than temporary possession.

A number of law-suits were the inevitable consequence of this upon my return. One carried on with a very expensive obstinacy for the space of ten years, by a very opulent and active company, was determined finally in the House of Peers, in the compass of a very few hours, by the well-known sagacity and penetration of a noble Lord, who, happily for the subjects of both countries, holds the first office in the law; and so judicious was the sentence, that harmony, mutual confidence, and good neighbourhood, have ever since been the consequence of that determination.

Other suits still remained, which unfortunately were not arrived to the degree of maturity to be so cut off; they are yet depending; patience and attention, it is hoped, may bring them to an issue at some future time. No imputation of rashness can possibly fall upon the decree, since the action has depended above thirty years.

To these disagreeable avocations, which took up much time, were added others still more unfortunate. The relentless ague caught at Bengazi maintained its

ground at times for a space of more than sixteen years, though every remedy had been used in vain; and, what was heavier than all, a lingering distemper had seriously threatened the life of a most near relation, which, after nine years constant alarm, where every duty bound me to attention and attendance, conducted her at last, in very early life, to the grave *.

The love of solitude is the constant follower of affliction. This again naturally turns an instructed mind to study. My friends unanimously assailed me in the part most accessible when the spirits are weak, which is vanity. They represented to me how ignoble it was, after all my dangers and difficulties, to be conquered by a misfortune incident to all men, the indulging of which was unreasonable in itself, fruitless in its consequences, and so unlike the expectation I had given my country, by the firmness and intrepidity of my former character and behaviour. Amongst these, the principal and most urgent was a gentleman well known in the literary world, in which he holds a rank nearly as distinguished as that to which his virtues entitle him in civil life; this was the Hon. Daines Barrington, whose friendship, valuable on every account, had this additional merit, that it had existed uninterrupted since the days we were at school. To this gentleman's persuasions, assistance, protection and friendship, the world owes this publication, if indeed there is any merit in it; at least, they are certainly indebted to him for the opportunity of judging whether it has any merit or not.

No great time has passed since the work was in hand. The materials collected upon the spot were very full, and seldom deferred to be set down beyond

* Mrs Bruce died Feb. 10th, 1785.

the day wherein the events described happened, but oftner, when speeches and arguments were to be mentioned, they were noted the instant afterwards; for, contrary I believe to what is often the case, I assure the reader these speeches and conversations are real, and not the fabrication of after-hours.

It will perhaps be said, this work hath faults; nay, perhaps, great ones too, and this I readily admit. But I must likewise beg leave to say, that I know no books of the kind that have not nearly as many, though perhaps not of the same kind with mine. To see distinctly and accurately, to describe plainly, dispassionately, and truly, is all that ought to be expected from one in my situation, constantly surrounded with every sort of difficulty and danger.

It may be said, too, there are faults in the language; that more pains should have been taken. Perhaps it may be so; yet there has not been wanting a considerable degree of attention even to this. I have not indeed confined myself to a painful and slavish nicety, that would have produced nothing but a disagreeable stiffness in the narrative. It will be remembered likewise, that one of the motives of my writing is my own amusement, and I would much rather renounce the subject altogether than walk in fetters of my own forging. The language is, like the subject, rude and manly. My paths have not been flowery, nor would it have added any credit to the work, or entertainment to the reader, to employ in it a style proper only for works of imagination and pleasure. These trifling faults I willingly leave as food to the malice of critics, who, perhaps, were it not for these blemishes, would find no other enjoyment in the perusal of the work.

It has been said that parties have been formed against this work. Whether this be really the case I

cannot say, nor have I ever been very anxious in the inquiry. They have been harmless adversaries at least, for no bad effects, as far as I know, have ever as yet been the consequences; neither is it a disquisition that I shall ever enter into, whether this is owing to the want of will or of power. I rather believe it is to the former, the want of will, for no one is so perfectly inconsiderable, as to want the power of doing mischief.

Having now fulfilled my promise to the reader, in giving him the motive and order of my travels, and the reason why the publication has been delayed, I shall proceed to the last article promised, the giving some account of the work itself. The book is a large one, and expensive by the number of engravings; this was not at first intended, but the journey has proved long, and matter has increased, as it were, insensibly under my hands. It has now come to fill a great chasm in the history of the universe. It is not intended to resemble the generality of modern travels, the agreeable and rational amusement of one vacant day; it is calculated to employ a greater space of time.

Those that are best acquainted with Diodorus, Herodotus, and some other Greek historians, will find some very considerable difficulties removed; and they that are unacquainted with these authors, and receive from this work the first information of the geography, climate, and manners of these countries, which are little altered, will have no great occasion to regret that they have not searched for information in more ancient sources.

The work begins with my voyage from Sidon to Alexandria, and up the Nile to the first cataract. The reader will not expect that I should dwell long upon the particular history of Egypt; every other year has furnished us with some account of it, good or bad;

and the two last publications of M. Savary and Volney seem to have left the subject thread-bare. This, however, is not the only reason.

After Mr Wood and Mr Dawkins had published their Ruins of Palmyra, the late king of Denmark, at his own expence, sent out a number of men, eminent in their several professions, to make discoveries in the East, of every kind, with these very flattering instructions, that they might, and ought, to visit both Baalbec and Palmyra for their own studies and improvement; yet he prohibited them to interfere so far with what the English travellers had done, as to form any plan of another work similar to theirs. This compliment was gratefully received; and, as I was directly to follow this mission, Mr Wood desired me to return it, and to abstain as much as possible from writing on the subjects chosen by M. Niebuhr, at least to abstain either from criticising or differing from him on such subjects. I have therefore passed slightly over Egypt and Arabia; perhaps, indeed, I have said enough of both: if any shall be of another opinion, they may have recourse to M. Niebuhr's more copious work: he was the only person of six who lived to come home, the rest having died in different parts of Arabia, without having been able to enter Abyssinia, one of the objects of their mission.

My leaving Egypt is followed by my survey of the Arabian Gulf, as far as the Indian Ocean—Arrival at Masuah—Some account of the first peopling of Atbara and Abyssinia—Conjectures concerning language—First ages of the Indian trade—Foundation of the Abyssinian monarchy, and various revolutions, till the Jewish usurpation about the year 900. These compose the first volume.

The second begins with the restoration of the line

of Solomon, compiled from the Abyssinian annals, now first translated from the Ethiopic; the original of which has been lodged in the British Museum, to satisfy the curiosity of the public.

The third comprehends my journey from Masuah to Gondar, and the manners and customs of the Abyssinians, also two attempts to arrive at the fountains of the Nile—Description of these sources, and of every thing relating to that river and its inundation.

The fourth contains my return from the source of the Nile to Gondar—The campaign of Serbraxos, and revolution that followed—My return through Sennaar and Beja, or the Nubian desert, and my arrival at Marseilles.

In overlooking the work I have found one circumstance, and I think no more, which is not sufficiently clear, and may create a momentary doubt in the reader's mind, although to those who have been sufficiently attentive to the narrative, I can scarce think it will do this. The difficulty is, How did you procure funds to support yourself and ten men, so long and so easily, as to enable you to undervalue the useful character of a physician, and seek neither to draw money nor protection from it? And how came it, that, contrary to the usage of other travellers, at Gondar you maintained a character of independence and equality, especially at court; instead of crouching, living out of sight as much as possible, in continual fear of priests, under the patronage, or rather as servant to some men in power?

To this sensible and well-founded doubt I answer with great pleasure and readiness, as I would do to all others of the same kind, if I could possibly divine them:—It is not at all extraordinary that a stranger like me, and a parcel of vagabonds like those that were with me, should get themselves maintained, and

find at Gondar a precarious livelihood for a limited time. A mind ever so little polished and instructed has infinite superiority over barbarians, and it is in circumstances like these that a man sees the great advantages of education. All the Greeks in Gondar were originally criminals and vagabonds; they neither had, nor pretended to any profession, except Petros, the king's chamberlain, who had been a shoemaker at Rhodes, which profession at his arrival he carefully concealed. Yet these were not only maintained, but by degrees, and without pretending to be physicians, obtained property, commands, and places.

Hospitality is the virtue of barbarians, who are hospitable in the ratio that they are barbarous, and, for obvious reasons, this virtue subsides among polished nations in the same proportion. If on my arrival in Abyssinia I assumed a spirit of independence, it was from policy and reflection. I had often thought that the misfortunes which had befallen other travellers in Abyssinia arose from the base estimation the people in general entertained of their rank, and the value of their persons. From this idea I resolved to adopt a contrary behaviour. I was going to a court where there was a king of kings, whose throne was surrounded by a number of high-minded, proud, hereditary, punctilious nobility. It was impossible, therefore, too much lowliness and humility could please there.

Mr Murray, the ambassador at Constantinople, in the firman obtained from the grand signior, had qualified me with the distinction of Bey-Adzè, which means, not an English nobleman (a peer) but a noble Englishman, and he had added likewise, that I was a servant of the king of Great Britain. All the letters of recommendation, very many and powerful, from Cairo and Jidda, had constantly echoed this to every

part to which they were addressed. They announced that I was not a man, such as ordinarily came to them, to live upon their charity, but had ample means of my own, and each professed himself guarantee of that fact, and that they themselves, on all occasions, were ready to provide for me, by answering my demands.

The only request of these letters was safety and protection to my person. It was mentioned that I was a physician, to introduce a conciliatory circumstance, that I was above practising for gain. That all I did was from the fear of God, from charity, and the love of mankind. I was a physician in the city, a soldier in the field, a courtier every where, demeaning myself, as conscious that I was not unworthy of being a companion to the first of their nobility, and the king's stranger and guest, which is there a character, as it was with eastern nations of old, to which a certain sort of consideration is due. It was in vain to compare myself with them in any kind of learning, as they have none; music they have as little; in eating and drinking they were indeed infinitely my superiors; but in one accomplishment that came naturally into comparison, which was horsemanship, I studiously established my superiority.

My long residence among the Arabs had given me more than ordinary facility in managing the horse; I had brought my own saddle and bridle with me, and, as the reader will find, bought my horse of the Baharnagash in the first days of my journey, such a one as was necessary to carry me, and him I trained carefully, and studied from the beginning. The Abyssinians, as the reader will hereafter see, are the worst horsemen in the world. Their horses are bad, not equal to our Welch or our Scotch galloways. Their furniture is worse. They know not the use of fire-

arms on horseback; they had never seen a double-barrelled gun, nor did they know that its effect was limited to two discharges, but that it might have been fired on to infinity. All this gave me an evident superiority.

To this I may add, that, being in the prime of life, of no ungracious figure, having an accidental knack, which is not a trifle, of putting on the dress, and speaking the language easily and gracefully, I cultivated with the utmost assiduity the friendship of the fair sex, by the most modest, respectful, distant attendance, and obsequiousness in public, abating just as much of that in private as suited their humour and inclinations. I soon acquired a great support from these at court; jealousy is not a passion of the Abyssinians, who are in the contrary extreme, even to indifference.

Besides the money I had with me, I had a credit of L. 400 upon Yousef Cabil, governor of Jidda. I had another upon a Turkish merchant there. I had strong and general recommendations, if I should want supplies, upon Metical Aga, first minister to the sherriffe of Mecca. This, well managed, was enough; but when I met my countrymen, the captains of the English ships from India, they added additional strength to my finances; they would have poured gold upon me to facilitate a journey they so much desired upon several accounts. Captain Thornhill of the Bengal Merchant, and Captain Thomas Price of the Lion, took the conduct of my money-affairs under their direction. Their Saraf, or broker, had in his hands all the commerce that produced the revenues of Abyssinia, together with great part of the correspondence of the East; and, by a lucky accident for me, Captain Price staid all winter with the Lion at Jidda; nay, so kind and anxious was he, as to send over a servant

from Jidda on purpose, upon a report having been raised that I was slain by the usurper Socinios, though it was only one of my servants, and the servant of Metical Aga, who were murdered by that monster, as is said, with his own hand. Twice he sent over silver to me when I had plenty of gold, and wanted that metal only to apply it in furniture and workmanship. I do not pretend to say but sometimes these supplies failed me, often by my negligence in not applying in proper time, sometimes by the absence of merchants, who were all Mahometans, constantly engaged in business and in journies, and more especially on the king's retiring to Tigre, after the battle of Limjour, when I was abandoned during the usurpation of the unworthy Socinios. It was then I had recourse to Petros and the Greeks, but more for their convenience than my own, and very seldom from necessity. This opulence enabled me to treat upon equal footing, to do favours as well as to receive them.

Every mountebank-trick was a great accomplishment there, such as making squibs, crackers, and rockets. There was no station in the country to which, by these accomplishments, I might not have pretended, had I been mad enough to have ever directed my thoughts that way; and I am certain, that in vain I might have solicited leave to return, had not a melancholy despondency, the *amor patriæ*, seized me, and my health so far declined as apparently to threaten death; but I was not even then permitted to leave Abyssinia, till under a very solemn oath I promised to return.

This manner of conducting myself had likewise its disadvantages. The reader will see the times, without their being pointed out to him, in the course of the narrative. It had very near occasioned me to be murdered at Masuah, but it was the means of preser-

ving me at Gondar, by putting me above being insulted or questioned by priests, the fatal rock upon which all other European travellers had split: It would have occasioned my death at Sennaar, had I not been so prudent as to disguise and lay aside the independent carriage in time. Why should I not now speak as I really think, or why be guilty of ingratitude which my heart disclaims? I escaped by the providence and protection of heaven; and so little store do I set upon the advantage of my own experience, that I am satisfied, were I to attempt the same journey again, it would not avail me a straw, or hinder me from perishing miserably, as others have done, though perhaps in a different way.

I have only to add, that were it probable, as in my decayed state of health it is not, that I should live to see a second edition of this work, all well-founded, judicious remarks suggested should be gratefully and carefully attended to; but I do solemnly declare to the public in general, that I never will refute or answer any cavils, captious or idle objections, such as every new publication seems unavoidably to give birth to, nor ever reply to those witticisms and criticisms that appear in newspapers and periodical writings. What I have written I have written. My readers have before them, in the present volumes, all that I shall ever say, directly or indirectly, upon the subject; and I do, without one moment's anxiety, trust my defence to an impartial, well-informed, and judicious public. *

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* The division of the work into four volumes, mentioned in the author's Introduction, refers to the first edition, in four volumes 4to, with a volume of an appendix on natural history. E.

TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK I.

THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS IN EGYPT—VOYAGE IN THE RED SEA, TILL HIS ARRIVAL AT MASUAH.

CHAP. I.

The Author sails from Sidon—Touches at Cyprus—Arrives at Alexandria—sets out for Rosetto—Embarks on the Nile—and arrives at Cairo.

On Saturday the 15th of June, 1768, I sailed in a French vessel from Sidon, once the richest and most powerful city in the world, though now there remains not a shadow of its ancient grandeur. We were bound for the island of Cyprus; the weather clear and exceedingly hot, the wind favourable.

This island is not in our course for Alexandria, but

lies to the northward of it; nor had I, for my own part, any curiosity to see it. My mind was intent upon more uncommon, more distant, and more painful voyages. But the master of the vessel had business of his own which led him thither; with this I the more readily complied, as we had not yet got certain advice that the plague had ceased in Egypt, and it still wanted some days to the festival of St John, which is supposed to put a period to that cruel distemper *.

We observed a number of thin, white clouds, moving with great rapidity from south to north, in direct opposition to the course of the Etesian winds; these were immensely high. It was evident they came from the mountains of Abyssinia, where, having discharged their weight of rain, and being pressed by the lower current of heavier air from the northward, they had mounted to possess the vacuum, and returned to restore the equilibrium to the northward, whence they were to come back, loaded with vapour from Mount Taurus, to occasion the overflowing of the Nile, by breaking against the high and rugged mountains of the south.

Nothing could be more agreeable to me than that sight, and the reasoning upon it. I already, with pleasure, anticipated the time in which I should be a spectator first, afterwards an historian, of this phenomenon, hitherto a mystery through all ages. I exulted in the measures I had taken, which I flattered myself, from having been digested with greater consideration than those adopted by others, would secure me from the

* The nucta, or dew, that falls on St John's night, is supposed to have the virtue to stop the plague. I have considered this in the sequel.

melancholy catastrophes that had terminated these hitherto unsuccessful attempts.

On the 16th, at dawn of day, I saw a high hill, which, from its particular form, described by Strabo*, I took for Mount Olympus†. Soon after, the rest of the island, which seemed low, appeared in view. We scarce saw Lernica till we anchored before it. It is built of white clay, of the same colour as the ground, precisely as is the case with Damascus, so that you cannot, till close to it, distinguish the houses from the earth they stand upon.

It is very remarkable, that Cyprus ‡ was so long undiscovered §; ships had been used in the Mediter-

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* Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 781.

† It is called Mamilho. ὄρος μαστοειδές.

‡ Cyprus has been described geographically by many writers. It was undoubtedly known long before the building of Tyre; the Sidonians having made considerable voyages up the Mediterranean before that event. It was not, however, attacked in a hostile manner by the Phenicians, till Baal king of Tyre, the father of Dido, conquered the old inhabitants. Phenician colonies, under Tyrian princes, had settled in the island, at an early period, on account of the copper mines, the produce of which supplied the place of iron over most of the ancient world. The worship of Astarte, or Venus, as she was called by the Greeks, was by them established at Paphos. Cinnor and Mor, the Cinyras and Myrrha of antiquity, reigned in Cypros, and were the parents of Adoni, so celebrated in the fables concerning Venus.—The Paphian deity lost her stern original character among the Greek colonists, who settled on the fall of the Phenician greatness. Baal founded Citium and Lapethus, from the ruins of the former of which cities were dug up the famous *Inscriptiones Citienses*. A medal of the latter, with the legend "*Lebedets Cubdor*," has nearly established the opinion that Cyprus was the Caphtor of the Jewish writers. Citium probably is one of the places called Chittim by the Tyrians. The Greeks named the metal copper from the island. E.

§ Newton's Chronol. p. 183.

ranean 1700 years before Christ; yet, though only a day's sailing from the continent of Asia on the north and east, and little more from that of Africa on the south, it was not known at the building of Tyre, a little before the Trojan war, that is, 500 years after ships had been passing to and fro in the seas around it.

It was, at its discovery, thick covered with wood; and what leads me to believe it was not well known, even so late as the building of Solomon's temple, is, that we do not find that Hiram, king of Tyre, just in its neighbourhood, ever had recourse to it for wood, though surely the carriage would have been easier than to have brought it down from the top of Mount Libanus.

That there was great abundance in it, we know from Eratosthenes *, who tells us it was so overgrown that it could not be tilled; so that they first cut down the timber to be used in the furnaces for melting silver and copper; that after this they built fleets with it; and when they could not even destroy it this way, they gave liberty to all strangers to cut it down for whatever use they pleased, and the property of the ground when cleared.

Things are now sadly changed. Wood is one of the wants of most parts of the island, which has not become more healthy by being cleared, as is ordinarily the case.

At Cacamo† (Acamas), on the west side of the island, the wood remains thick and impervious as at the first discovery. Large stags, and wild boars of a monstrous size, shelter themselves unmolested in these

* Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 684.
† Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 780.

their native forests; and it depended only upon the portion of credulity that I was endowed with, that I did not believe that an elephant had, not many years ago, been seen alive there. Several families of Greeks declared it to me upon oath; nor were there wanting persons of that nation at Alexandria, who laboured to confirm the assertion. Had skeletons of that animal been there, I should have thought them antediluvian ones. I know none that could have been at Cyprus, unless in the time of Darius Ochus, and I do not remember that there were elephants even with him.

In passing, I would fain have gone ashore, to see if there were any remains of the celebrated temple of Paphos; but a voyage, such as I was then embarked on, stood in need of vows to Hercules rather than to Venus, and the master, fearing to lose his passage, determined to proceed.

Many medals (scarce any of them good) are dug up in Cyprus; silver ones, of very excellent workmanship, are found near Paphos, of little value in the eyes of antiquarians, being chiefly of towns, of the size of those found at Crete and Rhodes, and all the islands of the Archipelago. Intaglios there are a few, part in very excellent Greek style, and generally upon better stones than usual in the islands. I have seen some heads of Jupiter, remarkable for bushy hair and beard, that were of the most exquisite workmanship, worthy of any price. All the inhabitants of the island are subject to fevers, but more especially those in the neighbourhood of Paphos.

We left Lernica the 17th of June, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The day had been very cloudy, with a wind at N. E. which freshened as we got under weigh. Our master, a seaman of experience upon that coast, ran before it to the westward with all the sails he could set. Trusting to a sign which he saw,

that he called a bank, resembling a dark cloud in the horizon, he guessed the wind was to be from that quarter the next day.

Accordingly, on the 18th, a little before twelve o'-clock, a very fresh and favourable breeze came from the N. W. and we pointed our prow directly, as we thought, upon Alexandria.

The coast of Egypt* is exceedingly low, and, if the weather is not clear, you often are close in with the land before you discover it.

A strong current sets constantly to the eastward; and the way the masters of vessels pretend to know their approach to the coast is by a black mud, which they find upon the plummet† at the end of their sounding line, about seven leagues distant from land.

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* Egypt, the oldest civilized nation on record, has, for many ages, attracted the notice of travellers and historians. It had been often described before the time of Mr Bruce; he therefore passed it over in a very cursory manner, referring the curious to Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Ptolemy; or to Pococke, Shaw, Norden and Niebuhr. Volney, and Savary, have embellished the subject with elegant language and observation. Sonnini followed these; and last of all a French army seized the country. During the period of that invasion, a body of learned men, an unusual appendage to military expeditions, have increased or confirmed the knowledge which we formerly possessed. It is sufficient to mention the splendid work of M. de Non, one of these gentlemen. Whatever may be said of his literary abilities, his pencil affords us the only adequate idea which an untravelled European can form of ancient Egypt. After him and his companions, we can expect little more of any consequence from the transient visits of individuals. The ruins must now be investigated by residing antiquaries, who shall ascertain the site of the ancient towns by laborious research; penetrate into those recesses which have escaped the Arabs; and form, at last, a complete and united view of all the existing monuments. Some of our own countrymen, who expelled the French from Egypt, have added to the information before in the hands of the public. E.

† This is an old prejudice. See Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 90. sect. 5.

Our master pretended at midnight he had found that black sand, and therefore, although the wind was very fair, he chose to lie to, till morning, as thinking himself near the coast; although his reckoning, as he said, did not agree with what he inferred from his soundings.

As I was exceedingly vexed at being so disappointed of making the best of our favourable wind, I rectified my quadrant, and found, by the passages of two stars over the meridian, that we were in lat. 32° 1 45′, or seventeen leagues distant from Alexandria, instead of seven, and that by difference of our latitude only.

From this I inferred that part of the assertion, that it is the mud of the Nile which is supposed to shew seamen their approach to Egypt, is mere imagination; seeing that the point where we then were was really part of the sea opposite to the desert of Barca, and had no communication whatever with the Nile.

On the contrary, the Etesian winds blowing all the summer upon that coast, from the westward of north, and a current setting constantly to the eastward, it is impossible that any part of the mud of the Nile can go so high to the windward of any of the mouths of that river.

It is well known, that the action of these winds, and the constancy of that current, has thrown a great quantity of mud, gravel, and sand, into all the ports on the coast of Syria.

All vestiges of old Tyre are effaced; the ports of Sidon, Berout *, Tripoli, and Latikea †, are all filled up by the accretion of sand; and, not many days before my leaving Sidon, M. de Clerambaut, consul of France, shewed me the pavements of the old city of

* Berytus. † Laodicea ad mare.

Sidon, 7¼ feet lower than the ground upon which the present city stands, and considerably farther back in the gardens nearer to Mount Libanus.

This every one in the country knows is the effect of that easterly current setting upon the coast, which, as it acts perpendicularly to the course of the Nile, when discharging itself, at all, or any of its mouths, into the Mediterranean, must hurry what it is charged with on to the coast of Syria, and hinder it from settling opposite to, or making those additions to the land of Egypt, which Herodotus† has vainly supposed.

The 20th of June, early in the morning, we had a distant prospect of Alexandria rising from the sea. Were not the state of that city perfectly known, a traveller in search of antiquities in architecture would think here was a field for long study and employment.

It is in this point of view the town appears most to advantage. The mixture of old monuments, such as the column of Pompey, with the high moorish towers and steeples, raise our expectations of the consequence of the ruins we are to find.

But the moment we are in the port the illusion ends, and we distinguish the immense Herculean works of ancient times, now few in number, from the ill-imagined, ill-constructed, and imperfect buildings, of the several barbarous masters of Alexandria in later ages.

There are two ports, the Old and the New. The entrance into the latter is both difficult and dangerous, having a bar before it; it is the least of the two, though it is what is called the Great Port, by Strabo*.

Here only the European ships can lie; and, even when here, they are not in safety; as numbers of vessels are constantly lost, though at anchor.

Above forty were cast ashore and dashed to pieces

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* Herod. lib. 2. p. 90. † Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 922.

in March 1773, when I was on my return home, mostly belonging to Ragusa, and the small ports in Provence, while little harm was done to ships of any nation accustomed to the ocean.

It was curious to observe the different procedure of these different nations upon the same accident. As soon as the squall began to become violent, the masters of the Ragusan vessels, and the French caravaneurs, or vessels trading in the Mediterranean, after having put out every anchor and cable they had, took to their boats, and fled to the nearest shore, leaving the vessels to their chance in the storm. They knew the furniture of their ships to be too flimsy to trust their lives to it.

Many of their cables being made of a kind of grass, called Spartum, could not bear the stress of the vessels, or agitation of the waves, but parted with the anchors, and the ships perished.

On the other hand, the British, Danish, Swedish, and Dutch, navigators of the ocean, no sooner saw the storm beginning, than they left their houses, took to their boats, and went all hands on board. These knew the sufficiency of their tackle, and provided they were present, to obviate unforeseen accidents, they had no apprehension from the weather. They knew that their cables were made of good hemp, that their anchors were heavy and strong. Some pointed their yards to the wind, and others lowered them upon deck. Afterwards they walked to and fro on their quarter-deck with perfect composure, and bade defiance to the storm. Not one man of these stirred from the ships, till calm weather on the morrow called upon them to assist their feeble and more unfortunate brethren, whose ships were wrecked, and lay scattered on the shore.

The other port is the * Eunostus of the ancients, and is to the westward of the Pharos. It was called also the Port of Africa; is much larger than the former, and lies immediately under part of the town of Alexandria. It has much deeper water, though a multitude of ships have every day, for ages, been throwing a quantity of ballast into it; and there is no doubt, but in time it will be filled up, and joined to the continent by this means. And posterity may, probably, following the system of Herodotus (if it should be still fashionable) call this, as they have done the rest of Egypt, *the Gift of the Nile.*

Christian vessels are not suffered to enter this port; the only reason is, least the Moorish women should be seen taking the air in the evening at open windows; and this has been thought to be of weight enough for Christian powers to submit to it, and to over-balance the constant loss of ships, property, and men.

†Alexander, returning to Egypt from the Libyan side, was struck with the beauty and situation of these two ports. ‡Dinochares, an architect who accompanied him, traced out the plan, and Ptolemy I. built the city.

The healthy, though desolate and bare country round it, part of the desert of Libya, was another inducement to prefer this situation to the unwholesome black mud of Egypt; but it had no water: this Ptolemy was obliged to bring far above from the Nile, by a calish, or canal, vulgarly called the Canal of Cleopatra, though it was certainly coeval with the foundation of the city; it has no other name at this day.

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* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 922.

† Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 920. Q. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 8.

‡ Plin. lib. v. cap. 10. p. 273.

This circumstance, however remedied in the beginning, was fatal to the city's magnificence ever after, and the cause of its being in the state it is in at this day.

The importance of its situation to trade and commerce made it a principal object of attention to each party, in every war. It was easily taken, because it had no water; and therefore it was destroyed by the conqueror, because it could not be kept, that the temporary possession of it might not turn to be a source of advantage to an enemy.

We are not, however, to suppose that the country all around it was as bare in the days of its prosperity as it is now. Population, we see, produces a swerd of grass round ancient cities in the most desert parts of Africa, which keeps the sand immoveable till the place is no longer inhabited.

I apprehend the numerous lakes in Egypt were all contrived as reservoirs to lay up a store of water for supplying gardens and plantations in the months of the Nile's decrease. The great effects of a very little water are seen along the calish, or canal, in a number of bushes that it produces, and thick plantations of date trees, all in a very luxuriant state; and this, no doubt, in the days of the Ptolemies, was extended further, more attended to, and better understood.

Pompey's pillar, the obelisks, and subterraneous cisterns, are all the antiquities we find now in Alexandria; these have been described frequently, ably, and minutely.

The foliage and capital of the pillar are what seem generally to displease; the fust is thought to have merited more attention than has been bestowed upon the capital.

The whole of the pillar is granite, but the capital is of another stone; and I should suspect those rudiments of leaves were only intended to support firmly leaves

of metal * of better workmanship; for the capital itself is near nine feet high, and the work, in proportionable leaves of stone, would be not only very large, but, after being finished, liable to injuries.

This magnificent monument appears, in taste, to be the work of that period, between Hadrian and Severus; but, though the former erected several large buildings in the East, it is observed of him, he never put inscriptions upon them.

This has had a Greek inscription, and I think may very probably be attributed to the time of the latter, as a monument of the gratitude of the city of Alexandria for the benefits he conferred on them; especially since no ancient historian mentions its existence at an earlier period.

I apprehend it to have been brought in a block from the Thebais in Upper Egypt, by the Nile; though some have imagined it was an old obelisk, hewn to that round form. It is nine feet diameter; and were it but 80 feet high, it would require a prodigious obelisk indeed, that could admit to be hewn to this circumference for such a length, so as perfectly to efface the hieroglyphics that must have been very deeply cut in the four faces of it.

The tomb of Alexander has been talked of as one of the antiquities of this city. Marmol † says he saw it in the year 1546. It was, according to him, a small house, in form of a chapel, in the middle of the city, near the church of St Mark, and was called Escander.

The thing itself is not probable; for all those that made themselves masters of Alexandria, in the earliest times, had too much respect for Alexander to have re-

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* We see many examples of such leaves, both at Palmyra and Baalbec.

† Marmol, lib. xi. cap. 14. p. 276. tom. 3.

duced his tomb to so obscure a state. It would have been spared even by the Saracens; for Mahomet speaks of Alexander with great respect, both as a king and a prophet. The body was preserved in a glass coffin, in Strabo's * time, having been robbed of the golden one in which it was first deposited.

The Greeks, for the most part, are better instructed in the history of these places than the Cophts, Turks, or Christians; and, after the Greeks, the Jews.

As I was perfectly disguised, having for many years worn the dress of the Arabs, I was under no constraint, but walked through the town in all directions, accompanied by any of those different nations I could induce to walk with me; and, as I constantly spoke Arabic, was taken for a Bedowé † by all sorts of people; but, notwithstanding the advantage this freedom gave me, and of which I duly availed myself, I never could hear a word of this monument from either Greek, Jew, Moor, or Christian.

Alexandria has been often taken since the time of Cæsar. It was at last destroyed by the Venetians and Cypriots upon, or rather after, the release of St Lewis, and we may say of it as of Carthage, *Periére ruinæ*, its very ruins appear no longer.

The building of the present gates and walls, which some have thought to be antique, does not seem earlier than the last restoration in the 13th century. Some parts of the gate and walls may be of older date; (and probably were those of the last Caliphs before Saladin) but, except these, and the pieces of columns which lie horizontally in different parts of the wall,

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 753. Basil, 1549.
† A peasant Arab.

every thing else is apparently of very late times, and the work has been huddled together in great haste.

It is in vain then to expect a plan of the city, or try to trace here the Macedonian mantle of Dinochares; the very vestiges of ancient ruins are covered, many yards deep, by rubbish, the remnant of the devastations of later times. Cleopatra, were she to return to life again, would scarcely know where her palace was situated, in this her own capital.

There is nothing beautiful or pleasant in the present Alexandria, but a handsome street of modern houses, where a very active and intelligent number of merchants live upon the miserable remnants of that trade, which made its glory in the first times.

It is thinly inhabited, and there is a tradition among the natives, that, more than once, it has been in agitation to abandon it altogether, and retire to Rosetto, or Cairo, but that they have been withheld by the opinion of divers saints from Arabia, who have assured them, that Mecca being destroyed, (as it must be as they think by the Russians) Alexandria is then to become the holy place, and that Mahomet's body is to be transported thither; when that city is destroyed, the sanctified reliques are to be transported to Cairouan, in the kingdom of Tunis: lastly, from Cairouan they are to come to Rosetto, and there to remain till the consummation of all things, which is not then to be at a great distance.

Ptolemy places his Alexandria in lat. 30° 31′, and in round numbers in his almagest, lat. 31° north.

Our Professor, Mr Greaves, one of whose errands into Egypt was to ascertain the latitude of this place, seems yet, from some cause or other, to have failed in it; for though he had a brass sextant of five feet radius, he makes the latitude of Alexandria, from a mean of many observations, to be lat. 31° 4′ N. where-

as the French astronomers from the Academy of Sciences have settled it at 31° 11′ 20″; so between Mr Greaves and the French astronomers there is a difference of 7′ 20″, which is too much. There is not any thing, in point of situation, that can account for this variance, as in the case of Ptolemy; for the new town of Alexandria is built from east to west; and as all Christian travellers necessarily make their observations now on the same line, there cannot possibly be any difference from situation.

Mr Niebuhr, whether from one or more observations he does not say, makes the latitude to be 31° 12′. From a mean of thirty-three observations, taken by the three-feet quadrant I have spoken of, I found it to be 31° 11′ 16″: So that, taking a medium of these three results, you will have the latitude of Alexandria 31° 11′ 32″, or, in round numbers, 31° 11′ 30″, nor do I think there possibly can be 5″ difference.

By an eclipse, moreover, of the first satellite of Jupiter, observed on the 23d day of June 1769, I found its longitude to be 30° 17′ 30″ east, from the meridian of Greenwich.

We arrived at Alexandria the 20th of June, and found that the plague had raged in that city and neighbourhood from the beginning of March, and that two days only before our arrival people had begun to open their houses and communicate with each other; but it was no matter, St John's day was past, the miraculous nucta, or dew, had fallen, and every body went about their ordinary business, not only in perfect safety, but even without fear.

With very great pleasure I had received my instruments at Alexandria. I examined them, and, by the perfect state in which they arrived, knew the obligations I was under to my correspondents and friends. Prepared now for any enterprise, I left with eagerness

the thread-bare inquiries into the meagre remains of this once-famous capital of Egypt.

The journey to Rosetto is always performed by land, as the mouth of the branch of the Nile leading to Rosetto, called the Bogaz *, is very shallow and dangerous to pass, and often tedious; besides, nobody wishes to be a partner for any time in a voyage with Egyptian sailors, if he can possibly avoid it.

The journey by land is also reputed dangerous, and people travel burdened with arms, which they are determined never to use.

For my part, I placed my safety in my disguise and my behaviour. We had all of us pistols at our girdles, against an extremity; but our fire-arms of a larger sort, of which we had great store, were sent with our baggage, and other instruments, by the Bogaz to Rosetto. I had a small lance, called a Jerid, in my hand; my servants were without any visible arms.

We left Alexandria in the afternoon, and about three miles before arriving at Aboukeer, we met a man, in appearance of some consequence, going to Alexandria.

As we had no fear of him or his party, we neither courted nor avoided them. We passed near enough, however, to give them the usual salute, *Salam Alicum*; to which the leader of the troop made no answer, but said to one of his servants, as in contempt, Bedowé! they are peasants, or country Arabs. I was much better pleased with this token that we had deceived them, than if they had returned the salute twenty times.

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* Means a narrow or shallow entrance of a river from the ocean.

Some inconsiderable ruins are at Aboukeer, and seem to denote, that it was the former situation of an ancient city. There is here also an inlet of the sea; and the distance, somewhat less than four leagues from Alexandria, warrants us to say that it is Canopus, one of the most ancient cities in the world; its ruins, notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the branch of the Nile, which goes by that name, have not yet been covered by the increase of the land of Egypt.

At Medea, which we suppose, by its distance of near seven leagues, to be the ancient Heraclium, is the passage or ferry which terminates the fear of danger from the Arabs of Libya; and it is here * supposed the Delta, or Egypt, begins.

Dr Shaw † is obliged to confess, that between Alexandria and the Canopic branch of the Nile, few or no vestiges are seen of the increase of the land by the inundation of the river; indeed it would have been a wonder if there had.

Alexandria, and its environs, are part of the desert of Barca, too high to have ever been overflowed by the Nile, from any part of its lower branches; or else there would have been no necessity for going so high up as above Rosetto, to get level enough, to bring water down to Alexandria by the canal.

Dr Shaw adds, that the ground hereabout may have been an island; and so it may, and so may almost any other place in the world; but there is no sort of indication that it was so, nor visible means by which it was formed.

We saw no vegetable from Alexandria to Medea, excepting some scattered roots of Absinthium; nor

* Herod. p. 108.
† Shaw's Travels, p. 203.

were these luxuriant, or promising to thrive, but though they had not a very strong smell, they were abundantly bitter; and their leaves seemed to have imbibed a quantity of saline particles, with which the soil of the whole desert of Barca is strongly impregnated.

We saw two or three gazels, or antelopes, walking one by one, at several times, in nothing differing from the species of that animal, in the desert of Barca and Cyrenaicum; and the jerboa *, another inhabitant of these deserts; but from the multitude of holes in the ground, which we saw at the root of almost every plant of Absinthium, we were very certain its companion, the Cerastes †, or horned viper, was an inhabitant of that country also.

From Medea, or the Passage, our road lay through very dry sand; to avoid which, and seek firmer footing, we were obliged to ride up to the bellies of our horses in the sea. If the wind blows this quantity of dust or sand into the Mediterranean, it is no wonder the mouths of the branches of the Nile are choked up.

All Egypt is like to this part of it, full of deep dust and sand, from the beginning of March till the first of the inundation. It is this fine powder and sand, raised and loosened by the heat of the sun, and want of dew or rain, and not being tied fast, as it were, by any root or vegetation, which the Nile carries off with it, and buries in the sea, and which many ignorantly suppose comes from Abyssinia, where every river runs in a bed of rock.

When you leave the sea, you strike off nearly at right angles, and pursue your journey to the eastward

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* See a figure of this animal in the Appendix.

† See Appendix.

of north. Here heaps of stone and trunks of pillars are set up to guide you in your road, through moving sands, which stand in hillocks in proper directions, and which conduct you safely to Rosetto, surrounded on one side by these hills of sand, which seemed ready to cover it.

Rosetto is upon that branch of the Nile which was called the Bolbuttic Branch, and is about four miles from the sea. It probably obtained its present name from the Venetians, or Genoese, who monopolized the trade of this country, before the Cape of Good Hope was discovered; for it is known to the natives by the name of Rashid *, by which is meant the Orthodox.

The reason of this I have already explained; it is some time or other to be a substitute to Mecca, and to be blessed with all that holiness, that the possession of the reliques of their prophet can give it.

Dr Shaw † having always in his mind the strengthening of Herodotus's hypothesis, *that Egypt is created by the Nile*, says, that perhaps this was once a cape, because Rashid has that meaning. But as Dr Shaw understood Arabic perfectly well, he must therefore have known, that Rashid has no such signification in any of the Oriental languages. Ras, indeed, is a head land, or cape; but Rassit has no such signification, and Rashid a very different one, as I have already mentioned.

Rashid then, or Rosetto, is a large, clean, neat town, or village, upon the eastern side of the Nile. It is about three miles long, much frequented by stu-

* Rashid was called by the Copts Rashitte, which seems, however, to be of foreign derivation. If the Arab tradition be admitted, the name of the place is easily accounted for. E.

† Shaw's Travels, p. 294.

dious and religious Mahometans; among these, too, are a considerable number of merchants; it being the entrepot between Cairo and Alexandria, and *vice versa*; here, too, the merchants have their factors, who superintend and watch over the merchandise which passes the Bogaz to and from Cairo.

There are many gardens, and much verdure, about Rosetto; the ground is low, and retains long the moisture it imbibes from the overflowing of the Nile. Here also are many curious plants and flowers, brought from different countries, by Fakirs, and merchants. Without this, Egypt, subject to such long inundation, however it may abound in necessaries, could not boast of many beautiful productions of its own gardens, though flowers, trees, and plants, were very much in vogue in this neighbourhood, two hundred years ago, as we find by the observations of Prosper Alpinus.

The study and search after every thing useful or beautiful, which for some time had been declining, gradually fell at last into total contempt and oblivion, under the brutal reign of these last slaves *, the most infamous reproach to the name of sovereign.

Rosetto is a favourite halting-place of the Christian travellers entering Egypt, and merchants established there. There they draw their breaths, in an imaginary increase of freedom, between the two great sinks of tyranny, oppression, and injustice, Alexandria and Cairo.

Rosetto has this good reputation, that the people are milder, more tractable, and less avaricious, than those of the two last-mentioned capitals; but I must say, that, in my time, I could not discern much difference.

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* The Mameluke Beys.

The merchants, who trade at all hours of the day with Christians, are indeed more civilized, and less insolent, than the soldiery and the rest of the common people, which is the case every where, as it is for their own interest; but their priests and moullahs, their soldiers, and people living in the country, are, in point of manners, just as bad as the others.

Rosetto is in lat. 31° 24′ 15″ N.; it is the place where we embark for Cairo, which we accordingly did on June the 30th.

There is a wonderful deal of talk at Alexandria of the danger of passing over the desert to Rosetto. The same conversation is held here. After you embark on the Nile in your way to Cairo, you hear of pilots, and masters of vessels, who land you among robbers to share your plunder, and twenty such like stories, all of them of old date, and which perhaps happened long ago, or never happened at all.

But provided the government of Cairo is settled, and you do not land at villages in strife with each other (in which circumstances no person of any nation is safe) you must be very unfortunate indeed, if any great accident befal you between Alexandria and Cairo.

For, from the constant intercourse between these two cities, and the valuable charge confided to these masters of vessels, they are all as well known, and at the least as much under authority, as the boatmen on the river Thames; and, if they should have either killed, or robbed any person, it must be with a view to leave the country immediately; else either at Cairo, Rosetto, Fue, or Alexandria, wherever they were first caught, they would infallibly be hanged.

CHAP. II.

Author's Reception at Cairo—Procures Letters from the Bey and the Greek Patriarch—Visits the Pyramids—Observations on their Construction.

It was in the beginning of July we arrived at Cairo, recommended to the very hospitable house of Julian and Bertran, to whom I imparted my resolution of pursuing my journey into Abyssinia.

The wildness of the intention seemed to strike them greatly, on which account they endeavoured all they could to persuade me against it; but, upon seeing me resolved, offered kindly their most effectual services.

As the government of Cairo hath always been jealous of this enterprise I had undertaken, and a regular prohibition had been often made by the Porte, among indifferent people, I pretended that my destination was to India, and no one conceived any thing wrong in that.

This intention was not long kept secret (nothing can be concealed at Cairo): All nations, Jews, Turks, Moors, Cophts, and Franks, are constantly upon the inquiry, as much after things that concern other people's business as their own.

The plan I adopted was to appear in public as seldom as possible, unless disguised; and I soon was considered as a Fakir, or Dervish, moderately skilled

in magic, and who cared for nothing but study and books.

This reputation opened me, privately, a channel for purchasing many Arabic manuscripts, which the knowledge of the language enabled me to chuse, free from the load of trash that is generally imposed upon Christian purchasers.

The part of Cairo where the French are settled is exceedingly commodious, and fit for retirement. It consists of one long street, where all the merchants of that nation live together. It is shut at one end, by large gates, where there is a guard, and these are kept constantly close in time of the plague.

At the other end is a large garden tolerably kept, in which there are several pleasant walks, and seats; all the enjoyment that Christians can hope for, among this vile people, reduces itself to peace, and quiet; nobody seeks for more. There are, however, wicked emissaries who are constantly employed, by threats, lies, and extravagant demands, to torment them, and keep them from enjoying that repose, which would content them instead of freedom, and more solid happiness, in their own country.

I have always considered the French at Cairo, as a number of honest, polished, and industrious men, by some fatality condemned to the gallies; and I must own, never did a set of people bear their continual vexations with more fortitude and manliness.

Their own affairs they keep to themselves, and, notwithstanding the bad prospect always before them, they never fail to put on a chearful face to a stranger, and protect and help him to the utmost of their power; as if his little concerns, often ridiculous, always very troublesome ones, were the only charge they had in hand.

But a more brutal, unjust, tyrannical, oppressive,

avaricious set of infernal miscreants there is not on earth, than are the members of the government of Cairo.

There is also at Cairo a Venetian consul, and a house of that nation, called Pini, all excellent people.

The government of Cairo is much praised by some. It may, perhaps, have merit when explained, but I never could understand it, and therefore cannot explain it.

It is said to consist of twenty-four Beys; yet its admirers could never fix upon one year in which there was that number. There were but seven when I was at Cairo, and one who commanded the whole.

The Beys are understood to be vested with the sovereign power of the country; yet sometimes a Kaya commands absolutely, and, though of an inferior rank, he makes his servants Beys, or sovereigns.

At a time of peace, when the Beys are contented to be on an equality, and no ambitious one attempts to govern the whole, there is a number of inferior officers depending upon each of the Beys, such as Kayas, Schourbatchies, and the like, who are but subjects in respect to the Beys, yet exercise unlimited jurisdiction over the people in the city, and appoint the same over villages in the country.

There are perhaps four hundred inhabitants in Cairo, who have absolute power, and administer what they call justice, in their own way, and according to their own views.

Fortunately in my time this many headed monster was no more; there was but one Ali Bey, and there was neither inferior nor superior jurisdiction exercised, but by his officers only. This happy state did not last long. In order to be a Bey, the person must have been a slave, and bought for money, at a market. Every Bey has a great number of servants,

slaves to him, as he was to others before; these are his guards, and these he promotes to places in his household, according as they are qualified.

The first of these domestic charges is that of hasnadar, or treasurer, who governs his whole household; and whenever his master, the Bey, dies, whatever number of children he may have, they never succeed him; but this man marries his wife, and inherits his dignity and fortune.

The Bey is old, the wife is young, so is the hasnadar, upon whom she depends for every thing, and whom she must look upon as the presumptive husband; and those people who conceal, or confine their women, and are jealous, upon the most remote occasion, never feel any jealousy for the probable consequences of this passion, from the existence of such a connection.

It is very extraordinary, to find a race of men in power, all agree to leave their succession to strangers, in preference to their own children, for a number of ages; and that no one should ever have attempted to make his son succeed him, either in dignity or estate, in preference to a slave, whom he has bought for money like a beast.

The Beys themselves have seldom children, and those they have, seldom live. I have heard it as a common observation, that Cairo is very unwholesome for young children in general; the prostitution of the Beys from early youth probably gives their progeny a worse chance than those of others.

The instant that I arrived at Cairo was perhaps the only one in which I ever could have been allowed, single and unprotected as I was, to have made my intended journey.

Ali Bey, lately known in Europe by various narratives of the last transactions of his life, after having undergone many changes of fortune, and been ba-

nished by his rivals from his capital, at last had enjoyed the satisfaction of a return, and of making himself absolute in Cairo.

The Porte had constantly been averse to him, and he cherished the strongest resentment in his heart. He wished nothing so much as to contribute his part to rend the Ottoman empire to pieces.

A favourable opportunity presented itself in the Russian war, and Ali Bey was prepared to go all lengths in support of that power. But never was there an expedition so successful and so distant, where the officers were less instructed from the cabinet, more ignorant of the countries, more given to useless parade, or more intoxicated with pleasure, than the Russians on the Mediterranean then were.

After the defeat, and burning of the Turkish squadron, upon the coast of Asia Minor, there was not a sail appeared that did not do them homage. They were properly and advantageously situated at Paros, or rather, I mean, a squadron of ships of one half their number, would have been properly placed there.

The number of Bashas and Governors in Caramania, very seldom in their allegiance to the Port, were then in actual rebellion; great part of Syria was in the same situation, down to Tripoli and Sidon; and thence Shekh Daher, from Acre to the plains of Esdraelon, and to the very frontiers of Egypt.

With circumstances so favourable, and a force so triumphant, Egypt and Syria would probably have fallen dismembered from the Ottoman empire. But it was very plain, that the Russian commanders were not provided with instructions, and had no idea how far their victory might have carried them, or how to manage those they had conquered.

They had no confidential correspondence with Ali Bey, though they might have safely trusted him as he

would have trusted them; but neither of them were provided with proper negociators, nor did they ever understand one another till it was too late, and till their enemies, taking advantage of their tardiness, had rendered the first and great scheme impossible.

Carlo Rozetti, a Venetian merchant, a young man of capacity and intrigue, had for some years governed the Bey absolutely. Had such a man been on board the fleet with a commission, after receiving instructions from Petersburgh, the Ottoman empire in Egypt was at an end.

The Bey, with all his good sense and understanding, was still a Mamaluke, and had the principles of a slave. Three men of different religions possessed his confidence, and governed his councils, all at a time. The one was a Greek, the other a Jew, and the third an Egyptian Copht, his secretary. It would have required a great deal of discernment and penetration to have determined which of these was the most worthless, or most likely to betray him.

The secretary, whose name was Risk, had the address to supplant the other two at the time they thought themselves at the pinnacle of their glory; over-awing every Turk, and robbing every Christian, the Greek was banished from Egypt, and the Jew bastinadoed to death. Such is the tenure of Egyptian ministers.

Risk professed astrology, and the Bey, like all other Turks, believed in it implicitly, and to this folly he sacrificed his own good understanding; and Risk, probably in pay to Constantinople, led him from one wild scheme to another, till he undid him---by the stars.

The apparatus of instruments that were opened at the custom-house of Alexandria, prepossessed Risk in favour of my superior knowledge in astrology.

The Jew, who was master of the custom-house, w

not only ordered to refrain from touching or taking them out of their places (a great mortification to a Turkish custom-house, where every thing is handed about and shewn) but an order from the Bey also arrived that they should be sent to me without duty or fees, because they were not merchandise.

I was very thankful for that favour, not for the sake of saving the dues at the custom-house, but because I was excused from having them taken out of their cases by rough and violent hands, which certainly would have broken something.

Risk waited upon me next day, and let me know from whom the favour came; on which we all thought this was a hint for a present; and accordingly, as I had no other business with the Bey, I had prepared a very handsome one.

But I was exceedingly astonished when, desiring to know the time when it was to be offered, it not only was refused, but some few trifles were sent as a present from the secretary with this message: "That, "when I had reposed, he would visit me, desire to see "me make use of these instruments; and, in the mean "time, that I might rest confident, that nobody durst "any way molest me while in Cairo, for I was under "the immediate protection of the Bey."

He added also, "That if I wanted any thing I "should send my Armenian servant, Arabkir, to "him, without troubling myself to communicate my "necessities to the French, or trust my concerns to "their Dragomen."

Although I had lived for many years in friendship and in constant good understanding with both Turks and Moors, there was something more polite and considerate in this than I could account for.

I had not seen the Bey; it was not therefore any particular address, or any prepossession in my favour,

with which these people are very apt to be taken a first sight, that could account for this; I was an absolute stranger; I therefore opened myself entirely to my landlord, Mr Bertran.

I told him my apprehension of too much fair weather in the beginning, which, in these climates, generally leads to a storm in the end; on which account I suspected some design. Mr Bertran kindly promised to sound Risk for me.

At the same time, he cautioned me equally against offending him, or trusting myself in his hands, as being a man capable of the blackest designs, and merciless in the execution of them.

It was not long before Risk's curiosity gave him a fair opportunity. He inquired of Bertran as to my knowledge of the stars; and my friend, who then saw perfectly the drift of all his conduct, so prepossessed him in favour of my superior science, that he communicated to him in the instant the great expectations he had formed, to be enabled by me, to foresee the destiny of the Bey; the success of the war; and, in particular, whether or not he should make himself master of Mecca; to conquer which place, he was about to dispatch his slave and son-in-law, Mahomet Bey Abou Dahab, at the head of an army conducting the pilgrims.

Bertran communicated this to me with great tokens of joy: for my own part, I did not greatly like the profession of fortune-telling, where bastinado or impaling might be the reward of having mistaken.

But I was told I had most credulous people to deal with, and that there was nothing for it but escaping as long as possible, before the issue of any of my prophecies arrived, and as soon as I had done my own business.

This was my own idea likewise; I never saw a place I liked worse, or which afforded less pleasure or instruction than Cairo, or antiquities which less answered their descriptions.

In a few days I received a letter from Risk, desiring me to go out to the Convent of St George, about three miles from Cairo, where the Greek patriarch had ordered an apartment for me; that I should pretend to the French merchants that it was for the sake of health, and that there I should receive the Bey's orders.

Providence seemed to teach me the way I was to go. I went accordingly to St George, a very solitary mansion, but large and quiet, very proper for study, and still more for executing a plan which I thought most necessary for my undertaking.

During my stay at Algiers, the Rev. Mr Tonyon, the king's chaplain to that factory, was absent upon leave. The bigotted catholic priests there neither marry, baptise, nor bury the dead of those that are Protestants.

There was a Greek priest, Father Christopher*, who constantly had offered gratuitously to perform these functions. The civility, humanity, and good character of the man, led me to take him to reside at my country-house, where I lived the greatest part of the year; besides that he was of a chearful disposition, I had practised much with him both in speaking and reading Greek with the accent, not in use in our schools, but without which that language, in the mouth of a stranger, is perfectly unintelligible all over the Archipelago.

Upon my leaving Algiers to go on my voyage to

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* Vid. Introduction.

Barbary, being tired of the place, he embarked on board a vessel, and landed at Alexandria, from which soon after he was called to Cairo by the Greek patriarch Mark, and made Archimandrites, which is the second dignity in the Greek church under the patriarch. He was also well acquainted in the house of Ali Bey, where all were Georgian and Greek slaves; and it was at his solicitation that Risk had desired the patriarch to furnish me with an apartment in the Convent of St George.

The next day after my arrival I was surprised by the visit of my old friend Father Christopher; and, not to detain the reader with useless circumstances, the intelligence of many visits, which I shall comprehend in one, was, that there were many Greeks then in Abyssinia, all of them in great power, and some of them in the first places of the empire; that they corresponded with the patriarch when occasion offered, and, at all times, held him in such respect, that his will, when signified to them, was of the greatest authority, and that obedience was paid to it as to holy writ.

Father Christopher took upon him, with the greatest readiness, to manage the letters, and we digested the plan of them; three copies were made to send separate ways, and an admonitory letter to the whole of the Greeks then in Abyssinia, in form of a bull.

By this the patriarch enjoined them as a penance, upon which a kind of jubilee was to follow, that, laying aside their pride and vanity, great sins with which he knew them much infected, and, instead of pretending to put themselves on a footing with me when I should arrive at the court of Abyssinia, they should concur, heart and hand, in serving me; and that, before it could be supposed they had received instructions from me, they should make a declaration before

the king, that they were not in condition equal to me, that I was a free citizen of a powerful nation, and servant of a great king; that they were born slaves of the Turk, and, at best, ranked but as would my servants; and that, in fact, one of their countrymen * was in that station then with me.

After having made that declaration publicly, and *bona fide*, in presence of their priest, he thereupon declared to them, that all their past sins were forgiven.

All this the patriarch most willingly and cheerfully performed. I saw him frequently when I was in Cairo; and we had already commenced a great friendship and intimacy.

In the mean while, Risk sent to me, one night about nine o'clock, to come to the Bey. I saw him then for the first time. He was a much younger man than I conceived him to be; he was sitting upon a large sofa, covered with crimson-cloth of gold; his turban, his girdle, and the head of his dagger, all thick covered with fine brilliants; one in his turban, that served to support a sprig of brilliants also, was among the largest I had ever seen.

He entered abruptly into discourse upon the war between Russia and the Turk, and asked me, if I had calculated what would be the consequence of that war? I said, the Turks would be beaten by sea and land wherever they presented themselves.

Again, Whether Constantinople would be burned or taken?—I said, Neither; but peace would be made, after much bloodshed, with little advantage to either party.

He clapped his hands together, and swore an oath in Turkish, then turned to Risk, who stood before

* Michael.

him, and said, That will be sad indeed! but truth is truth, and God is merciful.

He offered me coffee and sweetmeats, promised me his protection, bade me fear nothing, but, if any body wronged me, to acquaint him by Risk.

Two or three nights afterwards the Bey sent for me again. It was near eleven o'clock before I got admittance to him.

I met the janissary aga going out from him, and a number of soldiers at the door. As I did not know him, I passed him without ceremony, which is not usual for any person to do. Whenever he mounts on horseback, as he was then just going to do, he has absolute power of life and death, without appeal, all over Cairo and its neighbourhood.

He stopt me just at the threshold, and asked one of the Bey's people who I was? and was answered, "It is Hakim Englese," the English philosopher, or physician.

He asked me in Turkish, in a very polite manner, if I would come and see him, for he was not well? I answered him in Arabic, "Yes, whenever he pleased, but could not then stay, as I had received a message that the Bey was waiting." He replied in Arabic, "No, no; go, for God's sake go; any time will do for me."

The Bey was sitting, leaning forward, with a wax taper in one hand, and reading a small slip of paper, which he held close to his face. He seemed to have little light, or weak eyes; nobody was near him: his people had been all dismissed, or were following the janissary aga out.

He did not seem to observe me till I was close upon him, and started when I said, "Salam." I told him I came upon his message. He said, "I thank you, did I send for you?" and without giving me leave to re-

ply, went on, "O true, I did so," and fell to reading his paper again.

After this was over, he complained that he had been ill, that he vomited immediately after dinner, though he eat moderately; that his stomach was not yet settled, and was afraid something had been given him to do him mischief.

I felt his pulse, which was low, and weak; but very little feverish. I desired he would order his people to look if his meat was dressed in copper properly tinned; I assured him he was in no danger, and insinuated that I thought he had been guilty of some excess before dinner; at which he smiled, and said to Risk, who now was standing by, "Afrite! Afrite!" he is a devil! he is a devil! I said, "If your stomach is really uneasy from what you may have ate, warm some water, and, if you please, put a little green tea into it, and drink it till it makes you vomit gently, and that will give you ease; after which you may take a dish of strong coffee, and go to bed, or a glass of spirits, if you have any that are good."

He looked surprised at this proposal, and said very calmly, "Spirits! do you know I am a Mussulman?" "But I, sir," said I, "am none. I tell you what is good for your body, and have nothing to do with your religion, or your soul." He seemed vastly diverted, and pleased with my frankness, and only said, "He speaks like a man." There was no word of the war, nor of the Russians that night. I went home desperately tired, and peevish at being dragged out, on so foolish an errand.

Next morning, his secretary Risk came to me to the convent. The Bey was not yet well; and the idea still remained that he had been poisoned. Risk told me the Bey had great confidence in me. I asked him how the water had operated? He said he had not yet

taken any of it; that he did not know how to make it, therefore he was come, at the desire of the Bey, to see how it was made.

I immediately shewed him this, by infusing some green tea in some warm water. But this was not all; he modestly insinuated that I was to drink it, and so vomit myself, in order to shew him how to do with the Bey.

I excused myself from being patient and physician at the same time, and told him, I would vomit him, which would answer the same purpose of instruction; neither was this proposal accepted.

The old Greek priest, Father Christopher, coming at the same time, we both agreed to vomit the Father; who would not consent, but produced a Caloyeros, or young monk, and we forced him to take the water whether he would or not.

As my favour with the Bey was now established by my midnight interviews, I thought of leaving my solitary mansion at the convent. I desired Mr Risk to procure me peremptory letters of recommendation to Shekh Haman, to the governor of Syene, Ibrim, and Deir, in Upper Egypt. I procured also the same from the janissaries, to these three last places, as their garrisons are from that body at Cairo, which they call their port. I had also letters from Ali Bey, to the Bey of Suez, to the Sherriffe of Mecca, to the Naybe (so they call the sovereign) of Masuah, and to the king of Sennaar, and his minister for the time being.

Having obtained all my letters and dispatches, as well from the patriarch as from the Bey, I set about preparing for my journey.

Cairo is supposed to be the ancient Babylon *, at

* Ptol. Geograph. lib. iv. cap. 5.

least part of it. It is in lat. 30° 2′ 30″ north, and in long. 31° 16′ east from Greenwich. I cannot assent to what is said of it, that it is built in form of a crescent. You can ride round it, gardens and all, in three hours and a quarter, upon an ass, at an ordinary pace, which will be above three miles an hour.

The Calish †, or Amnis Trajanus, passes through the length of it, and fills the lake called Birket el Hadje, the first supply of water the pilgrims get in their tiresome journey to Mecca.

On the other side of the Nile, from Cairo, is Geeza, so called, as some Arabian authors say, from there having been a bridge there; Geeza signifies the Passage.

About eleven miles beyond this are the pyramids, called the pyramids of Geeza, the description of which is in every body's hands. Engravings of them had been published in England, with plans of them upon a large scale, two years before I came into Egypt, and were shewn me by Mr Davidson, consul of Nice, whose drawings they were.

He it was, too, that discovered the small chamber above the landing-place, after you ascend through the long gallery of the great pyramid on your left hand; and he left the ladder by which he ascended, for the satisfaction of other travellers. But there is nothing in the chamber farther worthy of notice, than its having escaped discovery so many ages.

I think it more extraordinary still, that, for such a time as these pyramids have been known, travellers were content rather to follow the report of the ancients, than to make use of their own eyes.

Yet it has been a constant belief, that the stones

† Shaw's Travels, p. 294.

composing these pyramids have been brought from the Lybian mountains *; though any one, who will take the pains to remove the sand on the south side, will find the solid rock there hewn into steps.

And in the roof of the large chamber, where the Sarcophagus stands, as also in the top of the roof of the gallery, as you go up into that chamber, you see large fragments of the rock; affording an unanswerable proof, that those pyramids were once huge rocks, standing where they now are; that some of them, the most proper from their form, were chosen for the body of the pyramid, and the others hewn into steps, to serve for the superstructure, and the exterior parts of them†.

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* Herod. lib. ii. cap. 8.

† This opinion is disputed; large stones were used in all the ancient buildings of Egypt, and these were often brought from a distance. E.

CHAP. III.

Leaves Cairo—Embarks on the Nile for Upper Egypt—Visits Metrahenny and Mohannan—Reasons for supposing this the situation of Memphis.

HAVING now provided every thing necessary, and taken a rather melancholy leave of our very indulgent friends, who had great apprehensions that we should never return: and fearing that our stay till the very excessive heats were past, might involve us in another difficulty, that of missing the Etesian winds, we secured a boat to carry us to Furshout, the residence of Hamam, the Shekh of Upper Egypt.

This sort of vessel is called a Canja *, and is one of the most commodious used on any river, being safe, and expeditious at the same time, though at first sight it has a strong appearance of danger.

That on which we embarked was about 100 feet from stern to stem, with two masts, main and foremast, and two monstrous *Latine* sails; the main-sail yard being about 120 feet in length.

The structure of this vessel is easily conceived, from

* A minute description, in Italian, of this particular vessel, along with the pencilled sketches of the parts of it, by Sign. Balugani, having been preserved amongst Mr Bruce's papers, that description is given in the Appendix to Book I. No. 1. E.

the draught, plan, and section. It is about 30 feet in the beam, and about 90 feet in keel.

The keel is not straight, but a portion of a parabola, whose curve is almost insensible to the eye. But it has this good effect in sailing, that whereas the bed of the Nile, when the water grows low, is full of sand banks under water, the keel under the stem, where the curve is greatest, first strikes upon these banks, and is fast, but the rest of the ship is afloat; so that by the help of oars, and assistance of the stream, furling the sails, you get easily off; whereas, was the keel straight, and the vessel going with the pressure of that immense main-sail, you would be so fast upon the bank, as to lie there like a wreck for ever.

This yard and sail is never lowered. The sailors climb and furl it as it stands. When they shift the sail, they do it with a thick stick like a quarter staff, which they call a Noboot, put between the lashing of the yard and the sail; they then twist this stick round, till the sail and yard turn over to the side required.

When I say the yard and sail are never lowered, I mean while we are getting up the stream, before the wind; for, otherwise, when the vessel returns, they take out the mast, lay down the yards, and put by their sails, so that the boat descends like a wreck, broadside forwards; otherwise, being so heavy aloft, were she to touch with her stem going down the stream, she could not fail to carry away her masts, and perhaps be staved to pieces.

The cabin has a very decent and agreeable dining-room, about twenty feet square, with windows that have close and latticed shutters, so that you may open them at will in the day-time, and enjoy the freshness of the air; but great care must be taken to keep these shut at night.

A certain kind of robber, peculiar to the Nile, is

constantly on the watch to rob boats, in which they suppose the crew are off their guard. They generally approach the boat when it is calm, either swimming under water, or when it is dark, upon goats skins; after which they mount with the utmost silence, and take away whatever they can lay their hands on.

They are not very fond, I am told, of meddling with vessels wherein they see Franks, or Europeans, because by them some have been wounded with fire-arms.

The attempts are generally made when you are at anchor, or under weigh, at night, in very moderate weather; but oftenest when you are falling down the stream without masts; for it requires strength, vigour, and skill, to get aboard a vessel going before a brisk wind; though indeed they are abundantly provided with all these requisites.

Behind the dining-room (that is, nearer the stern), you have a bed-chamber ten feet long, and a place for putting your books and arms. With the latter we were plentifully supplied, both with those of the useful kind, and those (such as large blunderbusses) meant to strike terror. We had great abundance of ammunition likewise, both for our defence and sport.

With books we were less furnished, yet our library was chosen, and a very dear one; for, finding how much my baggage was increased by the accession of the large quadrant and its foot, and Dolland's large achromatic telescope, I began to think it folly to load myself more with things to be carried on mens shoulders through a country full of mountains, which it was very doubtful whether I should get liberty to enter, much more be able to induce savages to carry for me these incumbrances.

To reduce the bulk as much as possible, after con-

sidering in my mind what were likeliest to be of service to me in the countries through which I was passing, and the several inquiries I was to make, I fell, with some remorse, upon garbling my library, tore out all the leaves which I had marked for my purpose, destroyed some editions of very rare books, rolling up the needful parts, and tying them by themselves. I thus reduced my library to a more compact form.

It was December 12th when I embarked on the Nile at Bulac, on board the Canja already mentioned, the remaining part of which needs no description, but will be understood immediately upon inspection.

At first we had the precaution to apply to our friend Risk concerning our captain Hagi Hassan Abou Cuffi, and we obliged him to give his son Mahomet in security for his behaviour towards us. Our hire to Furshout was 27 patakas, or about L. 6 : 15 : 0 Sterling.

There was nothing so much we desired as to be at some distance from Cairo on our voyage. Bad affairs and extortions always overtake you in this detestable country, at the very time when you are about to leave it.

The wind was contrary, so we were obliged to advance against the stream, by having the boat drawn with a rope.

We were surprised to see the alacrity with which two young Moors bestirred themselves in the boat; they supplied the place of masters, companions, pilots, and seamen.

Our Rais had not appeared, and I did not augur much good from the alacrity of these Moors, so willing to proceed without him.

However, as it was conformable to our own wishes, we encouraged and cajoled them all we could. We

advanced a few miles to two convents of Cophts, called Deireteen *.

Here we stopped to pass the night, having had a fine view of the pyramids of Geeza and Saccara, and being then in sight of a prodigious number of others built of white clay, and stretching far into the desert to the south-west.

Two of these seemed full as large as those that are called the pyramids of Geeza. One of them was of a very extraordinary form; it seemed as if it had been intended at first to be a very large one, but that the builder's heart or means had failed him, and that he had brought it to a very mis-shapen disproportioned head at last.

We were not a little displeased to find, that, in the first promise of punctuality our Rais had made, he had disappointed us, by absenting himself from the boat. The fear of a complaint, if we remained near the town, was the reason why his servants had hurried us away; but being now out of reach, as they thought, their behaviour was entirely changed; they scarce deigned to speak to us, but smoked their pipes, and kept up a conversation bordering upon ridicule and insolence.

On the side of the Nile, opposite to our boat, a little farther to the south, was a tribe of Arabs encamped.

These are subject to Cairo, or were then at peace with its government. They are called Howadat, being a part of the Atouni, a large tribe that possess the isthmus of Suez, and from that go up between the Red Sea and the mountains that bound the east part

* This has been thought to mean the Convent of Figs, but it only signifies the Two Convents.

of the Valley of Egypt. They reach to the length of Cosseir, where they border upon another large tribe called Ababde, which extends from thence up into Nubia.

Both these are what were anciently called Nomades, or Shepherds, and are now constantly at war with each other.

The Howadat are the same that fell in with Mr Irvine * in these very mountains, and conducted him so generously and safely to Cairo. Though little acquainted with the manners, and totally ignorant of the language of his conductors, he imagined them to be, and calls them by no other name, than "*the Thieves.*"

One or two of these straggled down to my boat to seek tobacco and coffee; I told them, if a few decent men among them would come on board, I should make them partakers of the coffee and tobacco I had. Two of them accepted the invitation, and we presently became great friends.

I remembered, when in Barbary, living with the tribes of Noile and Wargumma (two numerous and powerful clans of Arabs in the kingdom of Tunis), that the Howadat, or Atouni, the Arabs of the Isthmus of Suez, were of the same family and race with one of them.

I even had marked this down in my memorandum-book, but it happened not to be at hand; and I did not really remember whether it was to the Noile or Wargumma they were friends, for these two are rivals, and enemies; so in a mistake there was danger. I, however, cast about a little to discover this if possible; and soon, from discourse and circumstances that came into my mind, I found it was the Noile to whom these

* See Mr Irvine's Letters.

people belonged; so we soon became acquainted; and as our conversation tallied, so that we found we were *true men*, they got up, and insisted on fetching one of their Shekhs.

I told them they might do so if they pleased; but they were first bound to perform me a piece of service, to which they willingly and readily offered themselves. I desired, that, early next morning, they would have a boy and horse ready to carry a letter to Risk, Ali Bey's secretary, and I would give him a piaster upon bringing back the answer.

This they instantly engaged to perform; but no sooner were they gone ashore, than, after a short council held together, one of our laughing boat-companions stole off on foot; and, before day, I was awakened by the arrival of our Rais Abou Cuffi, and his son Mahomet.

Abou Cuffi was drunk, though a Sherriffe *; a Hagi, and half a saint besides, who never tasted fermented liquor, as he told me when I hired him. The son was terrified out of his wits. He said he should have been impaled, had the messenger arrived; and, seeing that I fell upon means to keep open a correspondence with Cairo, he told me he would not run the risk of being surety, and of going back to Cairo to answer for his father's faults, lest, one day or another, upon some complaint of that kind, he might be taken out of his bed and bastinadoed to death, without knowing what his offence was.

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* Abou Cuffi pretended to be a descendant of the Prophets, and hence a *Sherif*, or noble; which entitled him to wear a grass-green turban, the badge of enmity to Christianity. He had been at Mecca, and gained the title of Hagi; that of Dervish, or saint, he merited for some qualities more creditable to his powers of deception, than to the sanctity of his life. E.

An altercation ensued; the father declined staying upon pretty much the same reasons; and I was very happy to find that Risk had dealt roundly with them, and that I was master of the string upon which I could touch their fears.

They then both agreed to go the voyage, for none of them thought it very safe to stay; and I was glad to get men of some substance along with me, rather than trust to hired vagabond servants; which I esteemed the two Moors to be.

As the Shekh of the Howadat and I had vowed friendship, he offered to carry me to Cosseir by land, without any expence, and in perfect safety, thinking me diffident of my boatmen, from what had passed.

I thanked him for this friendly offer, which I am persuaded I might have accepted very safely, but I contented myself with desiring, that one of the Moor servants in the boat should go to Cairo to fetch Mahomet Abou Cuffi's son's cloaths, and agreed that I should give five patakas additional hire for the boat, on condition that Mahomet should go with us in place of the Moor servant, and that Abou Cuffi, the father and saint (that never drank fermented liquors) should be allowed to sleep himself sober, till his servant the Moor returned from Cairo with his son's cloaths.

In the mean time, I bargained with the Shekh of the Howadat to furnish me with horses to go to Metrahenny, or Mohannan, where once he said Mimf had stood, a large city, the capital of all Egypt.

All this was executed with great success. Early in the morning the Shekh of the Howadat had passed at Miniel, where there is a ferry, the Nile being very deep, and attended me with five horsemen and a spare horse for myself, at Metrahenny, south of Miniel, where there is a great plantation of palm-trees.

The 13th, in the morning, about eight o'clock, we

let out our vast sails, and passed a very considerable village called Turra, on the east side of the river, and Shekh Atman, a small village, consisting of about thirty houses, on the west.

The mountains which run from the castle to the eastward of south-east, till they are about five miles distant from the Nile east and by north of this station, approach again the banks of the river, running in a direction south and by west, till they end close on the banks of the Nile about Turra.

The Nile here is about a quarter of a mile broad; and there cannot be the smallest doubt, in any person disposed to be convinced, that this is by very far * the narrowest part of Egypt yet seen. For it certainly wants of half a mile between the foot of the mountain and the Libyan shore, which cannot be said of any other part of Egypt we had yet come to; and it cannot be better described than it is by Herodotus †; and "again, *opposite* to the Arabian side, is another stony mountain of Egypt towards Libya, covered with sand, where are the pyramids."

As this, and many other circumstances to be repeated in the sequel, must naturally awaken the attention of the traveller to look for the ancient city of Memphis here, I left our boat at Shekh Atman, accompanied by the Arabs, pointing nearly south. We entered a large and thick wood of palm-trees, whose greatest extension seemed to be south by east. We continued in this course till we came to one, and then to several large villages, all built among the plantation of date-trees, so as scarce to be seen from the shore.

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* Herod. lib. ii. p. 99.
† Herod. lib. ii. cap. 8.

These villages are called Metrahenny *, a word from the etymology of which I can derive no information; and leaving the river, we continued due west to the plantation that is called Mohannan, which, as far as I know, has no signification either.

All to the south, in this desert, are vast numbers of pyramids; as far as I could discern, all of clay, some so distant as to appear just in the horizon.

Having gained the western edge of the palm-trees at Mohannan, we have a fair view of the pyramids at Geeza, which lie in a direction nearly N. W. As far as I can compute the distance, I think about nine miles, and as near as it was possible to judge by sight, Metrahenny, Geeza, and the centre of the three pyramids, made an isosceles triangle, or nearly so.

I asked the Arab what he thought of the distance? whether it was farthest to Geeza, or the pyramids? He said, they were *sowah*, *sowah*, just alike, he believed; from Metrahenny to the pyramids perhaps might be farthest, but he would much sooner go it, than along the coast to Geeza, because he should be interrupted by meeting with water.

All to the west and south of Mohannan, we saw great mounds and heaps of rubbish, and calishes that were not of any length, but were lined with stone, covered and choked up in many places with earth.

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* Met-Rahenny is a compound Arabic name, the first syllable of which is a contraction of Miniet, or Moniat, a place or habitation. This word occurs very often in the names of Egyptian towns founded by the Arabs. When they build a village near any antient town or notable place, it is usual to prefix the word Miit, Met, or Miniet, to the name of it; which becomes of course the name of the village. So Miniet-Semenûd, Mit-Dempsis, and the like, are common in every map of the Delta. E.

We saw three large granite pillars S. W. of Mohannan, and a piece of a broken chest or cistern of granite; but no obelisks, or stones with hieroglyphics, and we thought the greatest part of the ruins seemed to point that way, or more southerly.

These, our conductor said, were the ruins of Mimf, the ancient seat of the Pharaohs, kings of Egypt; that there was another Mimf, far down in the Delta, by which he meant Menouf, below Terrane and Batn el Baccara.

Perceiving now that I could get no further intelligence, I returned with my kind guide, whom I gratified for his pains, and we parted content with each other.

In the sands I saw a number of hares. He said, if I would go with him to a place near Faioume, I should kill half a boat-load of them in a day, and antelopes likewise, for he knew where to get dogs; meanwhile he invited me to shoot at them there, which I did not choose; for, passing very quietly among the date-trees, I wished not to invite further curiosity.

All the people in the date villages seemed to be of a yellower and more sick-like colour than any I had ever seen; besides, they had an inanimate, dejected, grave countenance, and seemed rather to avoid than wish any conversation.

It was near four o'clock in the afternoon when we returned to our boatmen. By the way we met one of our Moors, who told us they had drawn up the boat opposite to the northern point of the palm-trees of Metrahenny.

My Arab insisted to attend me thither, and, upon his arrival, I made him some trifling presents, and then took my leave.

In the evening I received a present of dry dates, and some sugar cane, which does not grow here, but

had been brought to the Shekh by some of his friends, from some of the villages up the river.

The learned Dr Pococke, as far as I know, is the first European traveller that ventured to go out of the beaten path, and look for Memphis at Metrahenny and Mohannan.

Dr Shaw, who in judgment, learning, and candour, is equal to Dr Pococke, or any of those that have travelled into Egypt, contends warmly for placing it at Geeza.

Mr Niebuhr, the Danish traveller, agrees with Dr Pococke. I believe neither Shaw nor Niebuhr were ever at Metrahenny, which Dr Pococke and myself visited, though all of us have been often enough at Geeza; and I must confess, strongly as Dr Shaw has urged his arguments, I cannot consider any of the reasons for placing Memphis at Geeza as convincing, and very few of them that do not prove just the contrary in favour of Metrahenny.

Before I enter into the argument, I must premise, that Ptolemy, if he is good for any thing, if he merits the hundredth part of the pains that have been taken with him by his commentators, must surely be received as a competent authority in this case.

The inquiry is into the position of the old capital of Egypt, not fourscore miles from the place where he was writing, and immediately in dependence upon it. And therefore, in dubious cases, I shall have no doubt to refer to him as deserving the greatest credit.

Dr Pococke * says, that the situation of Memphis was at Mohannan, or Metrahenny, because Pliny says the pyramids † were between Memphis and the Delta,

* Pococke, vol. I. cap. v. p. 39.
† Plin. lib. 5. cap. 9.

as they certainly are, if Dr Pococke is right as to the situation of Memphis.

Dr Shaw does not undertake to answer this direct evidence, but thinks to avoid its force by alledging a contrary sentiment of the same Pliny, "that the pyramids * lay between Memphis and the Arsinoite nome, and consequently, as Dr Shaw thinks, they must be to the westward of Memphis."

Memphis, if situated at Metrahenny, was in the middle of the pyramids, three of them to the N. W. and above threescore of them to the south.

When Pliny said that the pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta, he meant the three large pyramids, commonly called the pyramids of Geeza.

But in the last instance, when he spoke of the pyramids of Saccara †, or that great multitude of pyramids southward, he said they were between Memphis and the Arsinoite nome; and so they are, placing Memphis at Metrahenny.

For Ptolemy gives Memphis 29° 50′ in latitude, and the Arsinoite nome 29° 30′, and there is 8′ of longitude betwixt them. Therefore the Arsinoite nome cannot be to the west either of Geeza or Metrahenny; the Memphitic nome extends to the westward, to that part of Libya called the Scythian Region; and south

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* Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12.

† The pyramids of the Saccara mark the boundaries of Memphis to the south, as those of Gizé do its northern limits. They were not the only sepulchral monuments in these places; many smaller ones being now demolished. The rock beneath the sand was hollowed out into innumerable caves, where the mummies, or embalmed bodies, were deposited. These plains, in which the pyramids stand, were called by the Egyptians Kahi-mhau, the land of tombs or caves, which the Greeks spelled Κοχωμη, and translated Necropolis. E.

of the Memphitic nome is the Arsinoite nome, which is bounded on the westward by the same part of Libya.

To prove that the latter opinion of Pliny should outweigh the former, Dr Shaw cites Diodorus Siculus*, who says Memphis was most commodiously situated in the very key, or inlet of the country, where the river begins to divide itself into several branches, and forms the Delta.

I cannot conceive a greater proof of a man being blinded by attachment to his own opinion, than this quotation. For Memphis was in lat. 29° 50′, and the point of the Delta was in 30°, and this being the latitude of Geeza, it cannot be that of Memphis. That city must be sought for ten or eleven miles farther south.

If, as Dr Shaw supposes, it was nineteen miles round, and that it was five or six miles in breadth, its greatest breadth would probably be to the river; then ten and six make sixteen, which will be the latitude of Metrahenny, according to Dr Shaw's † method of computation.

But then it cannot be said that Geeza is either in the key or inlet of the country; all to the westward of Geeza is plain, and desert, and no mountain nearer it on the other side than the castle of Cairo.

Dr Shaw ‡ thinks that this is further confirmed by Pliny's saying that Memphis was within fifteen miles of the Delta. Now if this was really the case, he suggests a plain reason, if he relies on ancient mea-

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* Diod. Sic. p. 45. § 50.
† Shaw's Travels, p. 296. in the latitude quoted.
‡ Shaw's Travels, cap. 4. p. 298.

sures, why Geeza, that is only ten miles, cannot be Memphis.

If a person, arguing from measures, thinks he is entitled to throw away, or add, the third part of the quantity that he is contending for, he will not be at a great stress to place these ancient cities in what situation he pleases.

Nor is it fair for Dr Shaw to suppose quantities that never did exist; for Metrahenny, instead of * forty, is not quite twenty-seven miles from the Delta; and such liberties would confound any question.

The Doctor proceeds by saying, that heaps of ruins † alone are not proof of any particular place; but the agreeing of the distances between Memphis and the Delta, which is a fixed and standing boundary, lying at a determinate distance from Memphis, must be a proof beyond all exception ‡.

If I could have attempted to advise Dr Shaw, or have had an opportunity of doing it, I would have suggested to him, as one who has maintained that all Egypt is the gift of the Nile, not to say that the point of the Delta is a standing and determined boundary that cannot alter. The inconsistency is apparent, and I am of a very contrary opinion.

Babylon, or Cairo, as it is now called, is fixed by the Calish or Amnis Trajanus passing through it. Ptolemy || says so, and Dr Shaw says that Geeza was opposite to Cairo, or in a line east and west from it, and is the ancient Memphis.

Now, if Babylon is lat. 30°, and so is Geeza, they

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* Shaw's Travels, cap. iv. p. 299.
† Id. ibid.
‡ Id. ibid.
|| Ptol. Geograph. lib. iv. cap. 5.

may be opposite to one another in a line of east and west. But if the latitude of Memphis is 29° 50′, it cannot be at Geeza, which is opposite to Babylon, but ten miles farther south; in which case it cannot be opposite to Babylon or Cairo. Again, if the point of the Delta be in lat. 30°, Babylon, or Cairo, 30°, and Geeza be 30°, then the point of the Delta cannot be ten miles from Cairo or Babylon, or ten miles from Geeza.

It is ten miles from Geeza, and ten miles from Babylon, or Cairo, and therefore the distances do not agree, as Dr Shaw says they do; nor can the point of the Delta, as he says, be a permanent boundary consistently with his own figures and those of Ptolemy, but it must have been washed away, or gone 10′ northward; for Babylon, as he says, is a certain boundary fixed by the Amnis Trajanus, and, supposing the Delta had been a fixed boundary, and in lat. 30°, then the distance of fifteen miles would just have made up the space that Pliny says was between that point and Memphis, if we suppose that great city was at Metrahenny.

I shall say nothing as to his next argument in relation to the distance of Geeza from the pyramids; because, making the same suppositions, it is just as much in favour of one as of the other.

His next argument is from Herodotus *, who says, that Memphis lay under the sandy mountain of Libya, and that this mountain is a stony mountain covered with sand, and is opposite to the Arabian mountain.

Now this surely cannot be called Geeza; for Geeza is under no mountain, and the Arabian mountain

* Herod. lib. ii. p. 141. Ibid. p. 168. Ibid. p. 105. Ibid. p. 103. Edit. Steph.

spoken of here is that which comes close to the shore at Turra.

Diodorus says, it was placed in the straits or narrowest part of Egypt; and this Geeza cannot be so placed, for, by Dr Shaw's own confession, it is at least twelve miles from Geeza to the sandy mountain, where the pyramids stand on the Libyan side; and, on the Arabian side, there is no mountain but that on which the castle of Cairo stands, which chain begins there, and runs a considerable way into the desert, afterwards pointing south-west, till they come so near to the eastern shore, as to leave no room but for the river at Turra; so that, if the cause is to be tried by this point only, I am very confident that Dr Shaw's candour and love of truth would have made him give up his opinion if he had visited Turra.

The last authority I shall examine as quoted by Dr Shaw, is to me so decisive of the point in question, that, were I writing to those only who are acquainted with Egypt, and the navigation of the Nile, I would not rely upon another.

Herodotus * says, "At the time of the inundation, the Egyptians do not sail from Naucratis to Memphis by the common channel of the river, that is Cercasora, and the point of the Delta, but over the plain country, along the very side of the pyramids."

Naucratis was on the west side of the Nile, about lat. 30° 30′, let us say about Terrane in my map. They then sailed along the plain, out of the course of the river, upon the inundation, close by the pyramids, whatever side they pleased, till they came to Metrahenny, the ancient Memphis.

The Etesian wind, fair as it could blow, forwarded

* Herod. lib. ii. § 97. p. 123.

their course whilst in this line. They went directly before the wind, and, if we may suppose, accomplished the navigation in a very few hours; having been provided with those barks, or canjas, with their powerful sails, which I have already described, and by means of which they shortened their passage greatly, as well as added pleasure to it.

But very different was the case if the canja was going to Geeza.

They had nothing to do with the pyramids, nor to come within three leagues of the pyramids; and nothing can be more contrary, both to fact and experience, than that they would shorten their voyage by sailing along the side of them; for the wind being at north and north-west, as fair as possible for Geeza, they had nothing to do but to keep as direct upon it as they could lie. But if, as Dr Shaw thinks, they made the pyramids first, I would wish to know in what manner they conducted their navigation to come down upon Geeza.

Their vessels go only before the wind, and they had a strong steady gale almost directly in their teeth.

They had no current to help them; for they were in still water; and, if they did not take down their large yards and sails, they were so top-heavy, the wind had so much purchase upon them above, that there was no alternative, but, either with sails or without, they must make for Upper Egypt; and there, entering into the first practicable calish that was full, get into the main stream.

But their dangers were still not over; for, going down with a violent current, and with their standing rigging up, the moment they touched the banks, their masts and yards would go overboard, and, perhaps, the vessel stave to pieces.

Nothing would then remain, but for safety's sake to

strike their masts and yards, as they always do when they go down the river; they must lie broadside foremost, the strong wind blowing perpendicular on one side of the vessel, and the violent current pushing it in a contrary direction on the other; while a man, with a long oar, balances the advantage the wind has of the stream, by the hold it has of the cabin and upper works.

This would most infallibly be the case of the voyage from Naucratis, unless in striving to sail by tacking (a manœuvre of which their vessel is not capable), their canja should overset, and then they must all perish.

If Memphis was Metrahenny, I believe most people who had leisure would have tried the voyage from Naucratis by the plain. They would have been carried straight from north to south. But Dr Shaw is exceedingly mistaken, if he thinks there is any way so expeditious as going up the current of the river. As far as I can guess, from ten to four o'clock, we seldom went less than eight miles in the hour, against a current that surely ran more than six. This current kept our vessel stiff, whilst the monstrous sail forced us through with a facility not to be imagined.

Dr Shaw, to put Geeza and Memphis perfectly upon a footing, says *, that there were no traces of the city now to be found, from which he imagines it began to decay soon after the building of Alexandria; that the mounds and ramparts, which kept the river from it, were in process of time neglected; and that Memphis, which he supposes was in the old bed of the river about the time of the Ptolemies, was so far abandoned, that the Nile at last got in upon it, and overflowing its

* Shaw's Travels, cap. iv.

old ruins, great part of the best of which had been carried first to rebuild the city of Alexandria, that the mud covered the rest, so that no body knew what was its true situation. This is the opinion of Dr Pococke, and likewise of M. de Maillet.

The opinion of these two last-mentioned authors, that the ruins and situation of Memphis are now become obscure, is certainly true; the foregoing dispute is a sufficient evidence of this.

But I will not suffer it to be said, that, soon after the building of Alexandria, or in the time of the Ptolemies, this was the case; because Strabo * says, that when he was in Egypt, Memphis, next to Alexandria, was the most magnificent city in Egypt.

It was called the capital † of Egypt, and there was entire a temple of Osiris; the Apis (or sacred ox) was kept and worshipped there. There was likewise an apartment for the mother of that ox still standing, a temple of Vulcan of great magnificence, a large ‡ circus, or space for fighting bulls, and a great colossus in the front of the city thrown down: there was also a temple of Venus, and a serapium in a very sandy place, where the wind heaps up hills of moving sand, very dangerous to travellers, and a number of sphinxes §, (of some only their heads being visible) the others covered up to the middle of their body.

In the ‖ front of the city were a number of palaces then in ruins, and likewise lakes. These buildings, he says, stood formerly upon an eminence; they lay along the side of the hill, stretching down to the lakes and the groves, and forty stadia from the city; there was a mountainous height, that had many pyramids

* Strabo. lib. vii. p. 914. † Id. ibid. ‡ Id. ibid.
§ Id. ibid. ‖ Id. ibid.

standing upon it, the sepulchres of the kings, among which there are three remarkable, and two the wonders of the world.

This is the account of an eye-witness, an historian of the first credit, who mentions Memphis, and this state of it, so late as the reign of Nero; and therefore I shall conclude this argument with three observations, which, I am very sorry to say, could never have escaped a man of Dr Shaw's learning and penetration.

1*st*, That by this description of Strabo, who was in it, it is plain that the city was not deserted in the time of the Ptolemies.

2*dly*, That no time, between the building of Alexandria and the time of the Ptolemies, could it be swallowed up by the river, or its situation unknown.

3*dly*, That great part of it having been built upon an eminence on the side of a hill, especially the large and magnificent edifices I have spoken of, it could not be situated, as he says, low in the bed of the river, that upon the giving way of the Memphitic rampart, it would be swallowed up by it.

If it was swallowed up by the river, it was not Geeza; and this accident must have been since Strabo's time, which Dr Shaw will not aver; and it is by much too loose arguing to say, first, that the place was destroyed by the violent overflowing of the river, and then to pretend its situation to be Geeza, where a river never came.

The descent of the hill to where the pyramids were, and the number of pyramids that were there around it, of which three are remarkable; the very sandy situation, and the quantity of loose flying hillocks that were there (dangerous in windy weather to travellers) are very strong pictures of the Saccara, the neighbourhood of Metrahenny and Mohannan, but they have

not the smallest or most distant resemblance to any part in the neighbourhood of Geeza.

It will be asked, Where are all those temples, the Serapium, the Temple of Vulcan, the Circus, and Temple of Venus? Are they found near Metrahenny?

To this I answer, Are they found at Geeza? No; but had they been at Geeza, they would still have been visible, as they are at Thebes, Diospolis, and Syene, because they are surrounded with black earth not moveable by the wind. Vast quantities of these ruins, however, are in every street of Cairo: every wall, every Bey's stable, every cistern for horses to drink at, preserve part of the magnificent remains that have been brought from Memphis or Metrahenny.—The rest are covered with the moving sands of the Saccara; as the sphinxes and buildings that had been deserted were in Strabo's time for want of grass and roots, which always spread and keep the soil firm in populous inhabited places; the sands of the deserts are let loose upon them, and have covered them, probably for ever.

A man's heart fails him in looking to the south and south-west of Metrahenny. He is lost in the immense expanse of desert *, which he sees full of pyramids

* The pyramids, in Coptic called *Pi-re-moue*, the Sun-beam, were sepulchral monuments, bearing the same name with the obelisks. Both were sacred to this deity. The latter represented a sun-beam, and their sides were covered with historical records. The celebrated obelisks now at Rome were chiefly transported by the Roman emperors from On-te-baki, Heliopolis. But only one solitary pillar now attests the situation of the chief seat of Egyptian wisdom in the days of Joseph.

The pyramid was formed on the model of the obelisk, as much as the compound materials of the one could imitate the unity and solid mass of the other. These monuments are by no means of equal antiquity with the custom of burying in caves, which were the

before him. Struck with terror from the unusual scene of vastness opened all at once upon leaving the palm-trees, he becomes dispirited from the effects of sultry climates.

From habits of idleness contracted at Cairo, from the stories he has heard of the bad government and ferocity of the people, from want of language and want of plan, he shrinks from the attempting any discovery in the moving sands of the Saccara, embraces in safety and in quiet the reports of others, who he thinks have been more inquisitive and more adventurous than himself.

Thus, although he has created no new error of his own, he is accessary to the having corroborated and confirmed the ancient errors of others; and, though people travel in the same numbers as ever, physics and geography continue at a stand.

In the morning of the 14th of December, after having made our peace with Abou Cuffi, and received a multitude of apologies and vows of amendment and fidelity for the future, we were drinking coffee preparatory to our leaving Metrahenny, and beginning our voyage in earnest, when an Arab arrived from my friend the Howadat, with a letter, and a few dates, not amounting to a hundred.

The Arab was one of his people that had been sick, and wanted to go to Kenne in Upper Egypt. The

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Necropolis of Thebes. After Memphis became the seat of the Pharaohs, the princes and nobles of that city covered the Sahara, or sandy desert around it, with pyramids, and the kings wasted the strength of the nation in erecting those, which still defy the ravages of conquest and time. In these mansions, Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, vainly hoped to slumber out the three thousand years of transmigration, the assigned period, after which they should return to humanity. E.

Shekh expressed his desire that I would take him with me this trifle of about two hundred and fifty miles, that I would give him medicines, cure his disease, and maintain him all the way.

On these occasions there is nothing like ready compliance. He had offered to carry me the same journey, with all my people and baggage, without hire; he conducted me with safety and great politeness to the Saccara; I therefore answered instantly, "You shall be very welcome; upon my head be it." Upon this the miserable wretch, half naked, laid down a dirty clout, containing about ten dates, and the Shekh's servant that had attended him returned in triumph.

I mention this trifling circumstance to shew how essential to humane and civil intercourse presents are considered to be in the east; whether it be dates, or whether it be diamonds, they are so much a part of their manners, that without them an inferior will never be at peace in his own mind, or think that he has a hold of his superior for his favour or protection.

CHAP. IV.

Leave Metrahenny—Come to the Island Halouan—False Pyramid—These buildings end—Sugar Canes—Ruins of Antinopolis—Reception there.

Our wind was fair and fresh, rather a little on our beam; when, in great spirits, we hoisted our main and fore-sails, leaving the point of Metrahenny, where our reader may think we have too long detained him. We saw the pyramids of Saccara still S. W. of us; several villages on both sides of the river, but very poor and miserable; part of the ground on the east side had been overflowed, yet was not sown; a proof of the oppression and distress the husbandman suffers in the neighbourhood of Cairo, by the avarice and disagreement of the different officers of that motely incomprehensible government.

After sailing about two miles, we saw three men fishing in a very extraordinary manner and situation. They were on a raft of palm branches, supported on a float of clay jars, made fast together. The form was like an isosceles triangle, or face of a pyramid; two men, each provided with a casting net, stood at the two corners, and threw their net into the stream together; the third stood at the apex of the triangle, or third corner, which was foremost, and threw his net the moment the other two drew theirs out of the water. And this they repeated, in perfect time, and with surprising regularity. Our Rais thought we wanted to

buy fish; and letting go his main-sail, ordered them on board with a great tone of superiority.

They were in a moment alongside of us; and one of them came on board, lashing his miserable raft to a rope at our stern. In recompence for their trouble, we gave them some large pieces of tobacco, and this transported them so much, that they brought us a basket, of several different kinds of fish, all small; excepting one laid on the top of the basket, which was a clear salmon-coloured fish, silvered upon its sides, with a shade of blue upon its back*. It weighed about 10 lib. and was most excellent, being perfectly firm and white like a perch. There are some of this kind 70 lib. weight. I examined their nets, which were rather of a smaller circumference than our casting nets in England; the weight, as far as I could guess, rather heavier in proportion than ours, the thread that composed them being smaller. I could not sufficiently admire their success, in a violent stream of deep water, such as the Nile; for the river was at least twelve feet deep where they were fishing, and the current very strong.

These fishers offered willingly to take me upon the raft to teach me; but I cannot say my curiosity went so far. They said their fishing was merely accidental, and in course of their trade, which was selling these potter earthen jars, which they got near Ashmounein; and after having carried the raft with them to Cairo, they untie, sell them at the market, and carry the produce home in money, or in necessaries upon their back. A very poor economical trade, but sufficient, as they said, from the carriage of crude materials, the moulding, making, and sending them to market, to Cairo

* Named *Binny*. See Appendix.

and to different places in the Delta, to afford occupation to two thousand men; this is nearly four times the number of people employed in the largest iron foundery in England. But the reader must not understand, that I warrant this fact from any authority but what I have given him.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, we came to the point of an island; there were several villages with date trees on both sides of us; the ground is overflowed by the Nile, and cultivated. The current is very strong here. We passed a village called Regnagie, and another named Zaragara, on the east side of the Nile. We then came to Caphar el Hayet, or the Toll of the Tailor; a village with great plantations of dates, and the largest we had yet seen.

We passed the night on the S.W. point of the island between Caphar el Hayat, and Gizier Azali, the wind failing us about four o'clock. This place is the beginning of the Heracleotic nome, and its situation a sufficient evidence that Metrahenny was Memphis; its name is Halouan.

This island is now divided into a number of small ones, by calishes being cut through and through it, and, under different Arabic names, they still reach very far up the stream. I landed to see if there were remains of the olive tree which Strabo* says grew here, but without success. We may imagine, however, that there was some such like thing; because, opposite to one of the divisions into which this large island is broken, there is a village called Zeitoon, or the Olive Tree.

On the 15th of December, the weather being nearly calm, we left the north end of the island, or Hera-

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 936.

cleotic nome; our course was due south, the line of the river; and three miles farther we passed Woodan, and a collection of villages, all going by that name, upon the east: to the west, or right, were small islands, part of the ancient nome of which I have already spoken.

The ground is all cultivated about this village, to the foot of the mountains, which is not above four miles; but it is full eight on the west, all overflowed and sown. The Nile is here but shallow, and narrow, not exceeding a quarter of a mile broad, and three feet deep; owing, I suppose, to the resistance made by the island in the middle of the current, and by a bend it makes, thus intercepting the sand brought down by the stream.

The mountains here come down till within two miles of Suf el Woodan, for so the village is called. We were told there were some ruins to the westward of this, but only rubbish, neither arch nor column standing. I suppose it is the * Aphroditopolis, or the city of Venus, which we are to look for here, and the nome of that name, all to the eastward of it.

The wind still freshening, we passed by several villages on each side, all surrounded with palm trees, verdant and pleasant, but conveying an idea of sameness and want of variety, such as every traveller must have felt who has sailed in the placid, muddy, green-banked rivers in Holland.

The Nile, however, here is fully a mile broad, the water deep, and the current strong. The wind seemed to be exasperated by the resistance of the stream, and blew fresh and steadily, as indeed it generally does where the current is violent. In our course we passed

* Athor-t-baki.

Nizelet Embarak, mentioned by Norden, which signifies, the blessed landing place.

The boatmen, living either in the Delta, Cairo, or one of the great towns in Upper Egypt, and coming constantly loaded with merchandise, or strangers from these great places, make swift passages by the villages, either down the river, with a rapid current, or up with a strong, fair, and steady wind: And, when the season of the Nile's inundation is over, and the wind turns southward, they repair all to the Delta, the river being no longer navigable above; and there they are employed till the next season.

They know little, therefore, and care less about the names or inhabitants of these villages, who have each of them barks of their own to carry on their own trade. There are some indeed, employed by the Coptic and Turkish merchants, who are better versed in the names of villages than others; but, if they are not, and find you do not understand the language, they will never confess ignorance; they will tell you the first name that comes uppermost, sometimes very ridiculous, often very indecent, which we see afterwards pass into books, and wonder that such names were ever given to towns *.

The reader will observe this in comparing Mr Norden's voyage and mine, where he will seldom see the same village pass by the same name. My Rais, Abou Cuffi, when he did not know a village, sometimes tried

* Mr Bruce, when in the boat, made a chart of the Nile, on detached pieces of paper joined together successively to a great length. On these he marked the names of the villages on both sides of the river, as told him by the boatmen. For the reasons given in the text, none of these names are added here. The ground work of the plan was Sicard's map, by Vaugondy, which he used in his voyage. E.

this with me. But when he saw me going to write, he used then to tell me the truth, that he did not know the village; but that such was the custom of him, and his brethren, to tell people that did not understand the language, especially if they were priests, meaning Catholic monks.

We passed with great velocity Nizelet Embarak, Cubabac, Nizelet Omar, Racca Kibeer, then Racca Seguier, and came in sight of Atfia, a large village at some distance from the Nile; all the valley here is green, the palm-groves beautiful, and the Nile deep.

Still it is not the prospect that pleases, for the whole ground that is sown to the sandy ascent of the mountains, is but a narrow stripe of three quarters of a mile broad; and the mountains themselves, which here begin to have a moderate degree of elevation, and which bound this narrow valley, are white, gritty, sandy, and uneven, and perfectly destitute of all manner of verdure.

At the small village of Racca Seguier there was this remarkable, that it was thick surrounded with trees of a different nature and figure from palms; what they were I know not, I believe they were pomegranate trees; I thought that with my glass I discerned some reddish fruit upon them; and we had passed a village called Rhoda, a name they give in Egypt to pomegranates; Saleah is on the opposite, or east side of the river. The Nile divides above the village; it fell very calm, and here we passed the night of the fifteenth.

Our Rais Abou Cuffi begged leave to go to Comadreedy, a small village on the west of the Nile, with a few palm-trees about it; he said that his wife was there. As I never heard any thing of this till now, I fancied he was going to divert himself in the manner he had done the night before he left Cairo; for he

had put on his back surtout, or great coat, his scarlet turban, and a new scarlet shaul, both of which he said he had brought, to do me honour in my voyage.

I thanked him much for his consideration; but asked him why, as he was a Sherriffe, he did not wear the green turban of Mahomet? He answered, Poh! that was a trick put upon strangers; there were many men who wore green turbans, he said, that were very great rascals; but he was a Saint, which was better than a Sherriffe, and was known as such all over the world, whatever colour of a turban he wore, or whether a turban at all, and he only dressed for my honour; would be back early in the morning, and bring me a fair wind.

"Hassan," said I, "I fancy it is much more likely that you bring me some aquavitæ, if you do not drink it all." He promised that he would see and procure some, for mine was now at an end. He said, the Prophet never forbade aquavitæ, only the drinking of wine; and the prohibition could not be intended for Egypt, for there was no wine in it. But bouza, said he, bouza I will drink, as long as I can walk from stem to stern of a vessel; and away he went. I had, indeed, no doubt he would keep his resolution of drinking whether he returned or not.

We kept, as usual, a very good watch all night, which passed without disturbance. Next day, the 17th, was exceedingly hazy in the morning, though it cleared about ten o'clock. It was, however, sufficient to shew the falsity of the observation of the author, who says that the Nile * emits no fogs; and in course of the voyage we often saw other examples of the fallacy of this assertion.

* Herod. lib. ii. cap. 19.

In the afternoon, the people went ashore to shoot pigeons; they were very bad, and black, as it was not the season of grain. I remained arranging my journal, when, with some surprize, I saw the Howadat Arab come in, and sit down close to me; however, I was not afraid of any evil intention, having a crooked knife at my girdle, and two pistols lying by me.

"What's this? How now, friend?" said I; "Who sent for you?" He would have kissed my hand, saying, Fiarduc, I am under your protection: he then pulled out a rag from within his girdle, and said he was going to Mecca, and had taken that with him; that he was afraid my boatmen would rob him, and throw him into the Nile, or get somebody to rob and murder him by the way; and that one of the Moors, Hassan's servant, had been feeling for his money the night before, when he thought him asleep.

I made him count his sum, which amounted to seven one-half sequins, and a piece of silver, value about half-a-crown, which in Syria they call Abou Kelb, Father Dog. It is the Dutch Lion rampant, which the Arabs, who never call a thing by its right name, term *a dog*. In short, this treasure amounted to something more than three guineas; and this he desired me to keep till we separated. "Do not you tell them," said he, "and I will throw off my clothes and girdle, and leave them on board, while I go to swim; and when they find I have nothing upon me, they will not hurt me."

"But what security," said I, "have you that I do not rob you of this, and get you thrown into the Nile some night?" "No, no," says he, "that I know is impossible. I have never been able to sleep till I spoke to you; do with me what you please, and my money too, only keep me out of the hands of those murderers."—"Well, well," said I, "now you have

got rid of your money, you are safe, and you shall be my servant; lie before the door of my dining-room all night; they dare not hurt a hair of your head while I am alive."

The pyramids, which had been on our right hand at different distances since we passed the Saccara, terminated here in one of a very singular construction. About two miles from the Nile, between Suf and Woodan, there is a pyramid, which at first sight appears all of a piece; it is of unbaked bricks, and perfectly entire; the inhabitants call it the False Pyramid *. The lower part is a hill, exactly shaped like a pyramid for a considerable height. Upon this is continued the superstructure, in proportion, till it terminates like a pyramid above; and, at a distance, it would require a good eye to discern the difference, for the face of the stone has a great resemblance to clay, of which the pyramids of the Saccara are composed.

Hassan Abou Cuffi was as good as his word in one respect; he came in the night, and had not drunk much fermented liquors; but he could find no spirits, he said, and that, to be sure, was one of the reasons of his return; I had sat up a great part of the night, waiting a season for observation; but it was very cloudy, as all the nights had been since we left Cairo.

The 18th, about eight o'clock in the morning, we prepared to get on our way; the wind was calm, and south. I asked our Rais, "Where his fair wind was which he promised to bring?" He said, "his wife had quarrelled with him all night, and would not give him time to pray; and therefore," says he, with a very droll face, "you shall see me do all that a Saint can do for you on this occasion." I asked him what that

* Dagjour.

was. He made another droll face, "Why, it is to draw the boat by the rope till the wind turns fair." I commended much this wise alternative, and immediately the boat began to move, but very slowly, the wind being still unfavourable.

On looking into Mr Norden's Voyage, I was struck at first sight with this paragraph *: "We saw this day abundance of camels, but they did not come near enough for us to shoot them."—I thought with myself, to shoot camels in Egypt would be very little better than to shoot men, and that it was very lucky for him the camels did not come near, if that was the only thing that prevented him. Upon looking at the note, I see it is a small mistake of the translator †, who says, "that in the original it is Chameaux d'eau, water-camels;" but whether they are a particular species of camels, or a different kind of animal, he does not know.

But this is no species of camel; it is a bird called a pelican, and the proper name in Arabic, is Jimmel el Bahar, the Camel of the River. The other bird like a partridge, which Mr Norden's people shot, and did not know its name, and which was better than a pigeon, is called Gooto, very common in all the desert parts of Africa. I have drawn them of many different colours. That of the Deserts of Tripoli, and Cy-

* Norden's Travels, vol. ii. p. 17.

† I cannot here omit to rectify another small mistake of the translator, which involves him in a difference with this author, which he did not mean.

Mr Norden, in the French, says, that the master of his vessel being much frightened, "avoit perdu la tramontane;" the true meaning of which is, That he had lost his judgment, not lost the north wind, as it is translated; which is really nonsense.---NORDEN's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 50.

renaicum, is very beautiful; that of Egypt is spotted white like the Guinea-fowl, but upon a brown ground, not a blue one, as that latter bird is. However, they are all very bad to eat, but they are not of the same kind with the partridge. Its legs and feet are all covered with feathers, and it has but two toes before. The Arabs imagine it feeds on stones, but its food is insects.

After Comadreedy, the Nile is again divided by another fragment of the island, and inclines a little to the westward. On the east is the village Sidi Ali el Courani. It has only two palm-trees belonging to it, and on that account hath a desert appearance; but the wheat upon the banks was five inches high, and more advanced than any we had seen. The mountains on the east side come down to the banks of the Nile, are bare, white, and sandy, and there is on this side no appearance of villages.

The river here is about a quarter of a mile broad, or something more. It should seem it was the Angyrorum Civitas of Ptolemy, but neither night nor day could I get an instant for observation, on account of thin white clouds, which confused (for they scarce can be said to cover) the heavens continually.

We passed now a convent of Cophts, with a small plantation of palms. It is a miserable building, with a dome like to a saint's or marabout's, and stands quite alone.

About four miles from this is the village of Nizelet el Arab, consisting of miserable huts. Here begin large plantations of sugar canes, the first we had yet seen; they were then loading boats with these to carry them to Cairo. I procured from them as many as I desired. The canes are about an inch and a quarter in diameter, they are cut in round pieces about three inches long; and after having been slit, they are

steeped in a wooden bowl of water. They give a very agreeable taste and flavour to it, and make it the most refreshing drink in the world; whilst, by imbibing the water, the canes become more juicy, and lose a part of their heavy clammy sweetness, which would occasion thirst. I was surprised at finding this plant in such a state of perfection so far to the northward. We were now scarcely arrived in lat. 29°, and nothing could be more beautiful and perfect than the canes were.

I apprehend they were originally a plant of the old continent, and transported to the new, upon its first discovery, because here in Egypt they grow from seed. I do not know if they do so in Brazil, but they have been in all times the produce of Egypt. Whether they have been found elsewhere, I have not had an opportunity of being informed; but it is time that some skilful person, versed in the history of plants, should separate some of the capital productions of the old, and new continent, from the adventitious, before, from length of time, that which we now know of their history be lost.

Sugar, tobacco, red podded or Cayenne pepper, cotton, some species of solanum, indigo, and a multitude of others, have not as yet their origin well ascertained.

Prince Henry of Portugal put his discoveries to immediate profit, and communicated what he found new in each part in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, to where it was wanting. It will be soon difficult to ascertain to each quarter of the world the articles that belong to it, and fix upon those few that are common to all.

Even wheat, the early produce of Egypt, is not a native of it. It grows under the Line, within the Tropics, and as far north and south as we know. Severe

northern winters seem to be necessary to it, and it vegetates vigorously in frost and snow. Whence it came, and in what shape, is yet left for us to conjecture.

Though the stripe of green wheat was continued all along the Nile, it was interrupted for about half a mile on each side of the Coptish convent. These poor wretches know, that though they may sow, yet, from the violence of the Arabs, they shall never reap, and therefore leave the ground desolate.

On the side opposite to Sment, the stripe begins again, and continues from Sment to Mey-Moom, about two miles, and from Mey-Moom to Shenuiah, one mile further. In this small stripe, not above a quarter of a mile broad, besides wheat, clover is sown, which they call Bersine. I don't think it equals what I have seen in England, but it is sown and cultivated in the same manner.

Immediately behind this narrow stripe, the white mountains appear again, square and flat on the top like tables. They seem to be laid upon the surface of the earth, not inserted into it, for the several strata that are divided, lie as level as it is possible to place them with a rule; they are of no considerable height.

We next passed Boush, a village on the west side of the Nile, two miles south of Shenuiah; and, a little further, Beni Ali, where we see for a minute the mountains on the right or west side of the Nile, running in a line nearly south, and very high. About five miles from Boush is the village of Maniareish on the east side of the river, and here the mountains on that side end.

Boush is about two miles and a quarter from the river. Beni Ali is a large village, and its neighbour, Zeytoon, still larger, both on the western shore. I suppose this last was part of the Heracleotic nome,

where Strabo * says the olive-tree grew, and no where else in Egypt, but we saw no appearance of the great works once said to have been in that nome. A little farther south is Baiad, where was an engagement between Hussein Bey, and Ali Bey then in exile, in which the former was defeated, and the latter restored to the government of Cairo.

From Maniareish to Beni Suef is two miles and a half, and opposite to this the mountains appear again of considerable height, about twelve miles distant. Although Beni Suef is no better built than any other town or village that we had passed, yet it interests by its extent; it is the most considerable place we had yet seen since our leaving Cairo. It has a casheff and a mosque, with three large steeples, and is a market-town.

The country all around is well cultivated, and seems to be of the utmost fertility; the inhabitants are better clothed, and seemingly less miserable, and oppressed, than those we had left behind in the places nearer Cairo.

The Nile is very shallow at Beni Suef, and the current strong. We touched several times in the middle of the stream, and came to an anchor at Baha, about a quarter of a mile above Beni Suef, where we passed the night.

We were told to keep good watch here all night, that there were troops of robbers on the east side of the water who had lately plundered some boats, and that the casheff either dared not, or would not give them any assistance. We did indeed keep strict watch, but saw no robbers, and were no other way molested.

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 936.

The 18th we had fine weather and a fair wind. Still I thought the villages were beggarly, and the constant groves of palm-trees so perfectly verdant, did not compensate for the penury of sown land, the narrowness of the valley, and barrenness of the mountains.

We passed Mansura, Gadami, Magaga, Malatiah, and other small villages, some of them not consisting of fifteen houses. Then follow Gundiah and Kerm on the west side of the river, with a large plantation of dates, and four miles further Sharuni. All the way from Boush there appeared no mountains on the west side, but large plantations of dates, which extended from Gundiah four miles.

From this to Abou Azeeze, frequent plantations of sugar-canes were now cutting. All about Kafoor is sandy and barren on both sides of the river. Etfa is on the west side of the Nile, which here again makes an island. All the houses have now receptacles for pigeons on their tops, from which is derived a considerable profit. They are made of earthen pots one above the other, occupying the upper story, and giving the walls of the turrets a lighter and more ornamented appearance.

We arrived in the evening at Zohora, about a mile south of Etfa. It consists of three plantations of dates, and is five miles from Miniet, and there we passed the night of the 18th of December.

There was nothing remarkable till we came to Barkaras, a village on the side of a hill, planted with thick groves of palm-trees.

The wind was so high we scarcely could carry our sails; the current was strong at Shekh Temine, and the violence with which we went through the water was terrible. My Rais told me we should have slackened our sails, if it had not been, that, seeing me cu-

rious about the construction of the vessel and her parts, and as we were in no danger of striking, though the water was low, he wanted to shew me what she could do.

I thanked him for his attention. We had all along preserved strict friendship. "Never fear the banks," said I, "for I know if there is one in the way, you have nothing to do but to bid him begone, and he will hurry to one side directly." "I have had passengers," says he, "who would believe that, and more than that, when I told them; but there is no occasion, I see, to waste much time with you in speaking of miracles."

"You are mistaken, Rais," I replied, "very much mistaken; I love to hear modern miracles vastly, there is always some amusement in them." "Aboard your Christian ships," says he, "you always have a prayer at twelve o'clock, and drink a glass of brandy; since you wont be a Turk like me, I wish at least you would be a Christian." "Very fairly put," said I, "Hassan; let your vessel keep her wind, if there is no danger, and I shall take care to lay in a stock for the whole voyage at the first town in which we can purchase it."

We passed by a number of villages on the western shore, the eastern seeming to be perfectly unpeopled: First, Feshne, a considerable place; then Miniet *, or the ancient Phylæ, a large town which had been fortified towards the water, at least there were some guns there. A rebel Bey had taken possession of it, and it was usual to stop here, the river being both narrow

* Signifies the Narrow Passage, as *Phylæ* does in Greek; the word, however, is probably Egyptian, as the two first letters of it are the Coptic masculine prefix. T.

and rapid; but the Rais was in great spirits, and resolved to hold his wind, as I had desired him, and nobody made us any signal from shore.

We came to a village called Rhoda, whence we saw the magnificent ruins of the ancient city of Antinous, built by Adrian. Unluckily I knew nothing of these ruins when I left Cairo, and had taken no pains to provide myself with letters of recommendation, as I could easily have done. Perhaps I might have found it difficult to avail myself of them, and it was, upon the whole, better as it was.

I asked the Rais what sort of people they were? He said that the town was composed of very bad Turks, very bad Moors, and very bad Christians; that several devils had been seen among them lately, who had been discovered by being better and quieter than any of the rest. The Nubian geographer informs us, that it was from this town Pharaoh brought his magicians, to compare their powers with those of Moses; an anecdote worthy of that great historian.

I told the Rais, that I must, of necessity, go ashore, and asked him, if the people of this place had no regard for saints? that I imagined, if he would put on his red turban as he did at Comadreedy for my honour, it would then appear that he was a saint, as he before said he was known to be all the world over. He did not seem to be fond of the expedition; but hauling in his main-sail, and with his fore-sail full, stood S. S. E. directly under the ruins. In a short time we arrived at the landing-place; the banks are low, and we brought up in a kind of bight or small bay, where there was a stake, so our vessel touched very little, or rather swung clear.

Abou Cuffi's son Mahomet, and the Arab, went on shore, under pretence of buying some provision, and to see how the land lay, but after the character we had

of the inhabitants, all our fire-arms were brought to the door of the cabin. In the mean time, partly with my naked eye and partly with my glass, I observed the ruins so attentively as to be perfectly in love with them.

These columns of the angle of the portico were standing fronting to the north, part of the tympanum, cornice, frize, and architrave, all entire, and very much ornamented; thick trees hid what was behind. The columns were of the largest size and fluted; the capitals Corinthian, and in all appearance entire. They were of white Parian marble probably, but had lost the extreme whiteness or polish of the Antinous at Rome, and were changed to the colour of the Fighting Gladiator, or rather to a brighter yellow. I saw indistinctly, also, a triumphal arch, or gate of the town, in the very same style; and some blocks of very white shining stone, which seemed to be alabaster, but for what employed I do not know.

No person had yet stirred, when all of a sudden we heard the noise of Mahomet and the Moor in strong dispute. Upon this the Rais stripping off his coat, leaped ashore, and slipped off the rope from the stake, and another of the Moors stuck a strong perch or pole into the river, and twisted the rope round it. We were in a bight, or calm place, so that the stream did not move the boat.

Mahomet and the Moor came presently in sight; the people had taken Mahomet's turban from him, and they were apparently on the very worst terms. Mahomet cried to us, that the whole town was coming, and getting near the boat, he and the Moor jumped in with great agility. A number of people were assembled, and three shots were fired at us, very quickly, the one after the other.

I cried out in Arabic, "Infidels, thieves, and rob-

bers! come on, or we shall presently attack you:" upon which I immediately fired a ship-blunderbuss with pistol small bullets, but with little elevation, among the bushes, so as not to touch them. The three or four men that were nearest fell flat upon their faces, and slid away among the bushes on their bellies, like eels, and we saw no more of them.

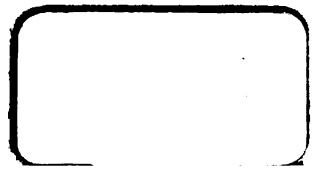
We now put our vessel into the stream, filled our foresail, and stood off, Mahomet crying, "Be upon your guard, if you are men; we are the Sanjack's soldiers, and will come for the turban to-night." More we neither heard nor saw.

We were no sooner out of their reach, than our Rais, filling his pipe, and looking very grave, told me to thank God that I was in the vessel with such a man as he was, as it was owing to that only I escaped from being murdered a-shore. "Certainly," said I, "Hassan, under God, the way of escaping from being murdered on land, is never to go out of the boat; but don't you think that my blunderbuss was as effectual a mean as your holiness? Tell me, Mahomet, What did they do to you?" He said, They had not seen us come in, but had heard of us ever since we were at Metrahenny, and had waited to rob or murder us; that upon now hearing we were come, they had all ran to their houses for their arms, and were coming down, immediately, to plunder the boat; upon which he and the Moor ran off, and being met by these three people, and the boy, on the road, who had nothing in their hands, one of them snatched the turban off. He likewise added, that there were two parties in the town; one in favour of Ali Bey, the other friends to a rebel Bey who had taken Miniet; that they had fought, two or three days ago, among themselves, and were going to fight again, each of them having called Arabs to their assistance. "Mahomet Bey," says my

Howadat Arab, "will come one of these days with the soldiers, and bring our Shekh and people with him, who will burn their houses, and destroy their corn, so that they will be all starved to death next year."

Hassan and his son Mahomet were violently exasperated; and nothing would serve them but to go in again near the shore, and fire all the guns and blunderbusses among the people. But, besides that I had no inclination of that kind, I was very loth to frustrate the attempts of some future traveller, who may add this to the great remains of architecture we have preserved already.

It would be a fine outset for some engraver; the elegance and importance of the work are certain. From Cairo the distance is but four days pleasant and safe navigation, and in quiet times, protection might, by proper means, be easily enough obtained at little expence.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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